Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-029
Monday
12 February 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-029 *12 February 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

BCP Socialist Faction Quits Supreme Council *[BTA]* 1
Chervenkova's Letter *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 6 Feb]* 1
ASO's 2d National Conference Opens *[Sofia Radio]* 1
ASO Members Leave BCP *[BTA]* 1
Further on Alternative Party *[BTA]* 2
Party Member Criticizes Politburo, Resigns *[LITERATUREN FRONT 8 Feb]* 2
Former King Simeon Still Citizen *[BTA]* 3
Lukanov Briefs Ambassadors on New Government *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Lilov on Importance of Youth Organizations *[NARODNA MLADEZH 5 Feb]* 4
Speaks at BCP Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Roundtable Contact Group Meets 8 Feb *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Restrictions on Abortions Lifted *[BTA]* 5
Further on National Assembly Proceedings *[BTA]* 5
'Political Declaration' of BCP at Congress *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 5 Feb]* 6
Biographies of New Deputy Premiers *[BTA]* 12
Biographies of Cabinet *[BTA]* 12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks Continue *[Prague Radio]* 14
Ready To Begin 'This Month' *[Bratislava Radio]* 14
Dienstbier Stresses 'Humanitarian' Aspect *[CTK]* 14
Vacek: 'Should Leave' by End of Year *[CTK]* 15
Agreement on Ties Signed With Israel's Arens 15
Havel, Arens Survey Effort *[CTK]* 15
Arens Gives News Conference *[CTK]* 15
Israeli Media Cited *[Prague Radio]* 15
Dienstbier-Arens Press Conference *[CTK]* 16
Visit Ends; Communique Issued *[Prague Radio]* 16
Dienstbier: Arab Reaction to Ties *[Bratislava Radio]* 16
Havel on USSR, Germany, Relations With Israel *[Jerusalem TV]* 16
Ambassador: PLO Ready To Negotiate With Israel *[CTK]* 17
Hromadka in Israel, Comments on Arms Exports *[CTK]* 17
Dienstbier Leaves for Talks in Paris, Ottawa *[CTK]* 18
Favors Neutral Germany in Paris Talks *[Prague Radio]* 18
Discusses 'Open Sky' Regime *[CTK]* 18
Defense Minister Interviewed on Military Issues *[Prague Radio]* 18
Pavlicek Holds Briefing on Importance of Radio *[Prague Radio]* 19
Interior Minister Says 'No Danger' of Coup *[Prague TV]* 19
Deputy Minister on Past, Future of Secret Police *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 6 Feb]* 19
Majority of Intelligence Officers for Change *[CTK]* 20
Havel Makes State Defense Council Appointments *[CTK]* 20
Plzen Citizens Demand Military Airport Closure *[Prague Radio]* 20
Federal Assembly Committee Chairs Appointed *[RUDE PRAVO 1 Feb]* 20
CPCZ Executive Body Plans Upcoming Session *[Prague Radio]* 21
Discusses Electoral Law *[RUDE PRAVO 29 Jan]* 21
Examines 1948 Takeover *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Feb]* 21
Committee Decisions Noted *[CTK]* 22
Conference Features Split in Democratic Forum *[Prague Radio]* 22

Further Details Provided on CPCZ Assets *[RUDE PRAVO 3 Feb]* 22
Free Peasant Party To Operate Nationally *[Bratislava PRAVDA 5 Feb]* 23
Delegates Organize Czechoslovak Peace Union *[Bratislava PRAVDA 29 Jan]* 23
Czech Premier Interviewed on Bratislava Talks *[Bratislava Radio]* 23
Czech National Council Appointments Published *[RUDE PRAVO 7 Feb]* 23
Correction on Czech Council Deputy Chairmen 24
Slovak Government Makes Personnel Changes *[Bratislava PRAVDA 1 Feb]* 24
Slovak National Council Presidium Meets *[Bratislava Radio]* 24
Ondrus Speaks on Personnel *[Bratislava Radio]* 25
Council Adds Deputies, Hears Dubcek *[Prague Radio]* 25
Slovak Finance Minister on Party Buildings *[Bratislava Radio]* 25
Slovak Parties Protest Federal Talks Exclusion *[Bratislava Radio]* 26
Slovak Historians View Country's Emblem, Name *[Bratislava PRAVDA 31 Jan]* 26
Slovak Entrepreneurs Hold Constituent Conference *[Bratislava PRAVDA 29 Jan]* 26
Slovak Party Criticizes New Groups *[CTK]* 27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

12th Roundtable Session Opens in Berlin *[ADN]* 28
Modrow Visit to FRG Noted *[ADN]* 28
* NDPD Publishes Revised Draft Platform *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 30 Jan]* 28
NDPD Outlines Plan for German Unity *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 6 Feb]* 30
Rauls Elected NDPD Chairman at Congress *[ADN]* 31
Proposes Alliance with LDP *[ADN]* 31
8-point Unity Plan Adopted *[ADN]* 31
14th Congress Ends *[ADN]* 31
Extraordinary LDPD Congress Opens in Dresden *[ADN]* 32
Gerlach Addresses Congress *[ADN]* 32
FRG's Lambsdorff Speaks *[ADN]* 32
Further From Lambsdorf *[ADN]* 32
FRG's Genscher Speaks *[ADN]* 33
Ortleb Elected Chairman *[ADN]* 33
Name Changed to LDP *[ADN]* 34
CDU Deputy Education Minister Resigns *[ADN]* 34
CDU Chairman Addresses Party Cooperation *[ADN]* 34
CDU Party Congress in Mar Postponed *[ADN]* 34
Modrow Says Retaining Army 'Essential' *[ADN]* 34
SPD Minister Observes Soviet, GDR Military *[ADN]* 35
Spokesman Denies GDR Approaching Insolvency *[ADN]* 35
Insolvency Report Doubted *[Hamburg DPA]* 36
CDU Chairman on Solvency *[Hamburg BILD 10 Feb]* 36
Sindermann Released From Investigative Custody *[ADN]* 36
Berlin Mayor Denies Electoral Falsification *[ADN]* 36
Print Media Proliferation Surveyed *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 29 Jan]* 36
Commentator Doubts U.S. Disarmament Credibility *[Stennert on ADN]* 39
Demonstration Held Outside USSR Embassy *[ADN]* 40
PDS, Hungarian Party Leaders Seek Cooperation *[ADN]* 40
Gysi, Kwasniewski on Oder-Neisse Border *[ADN]* 40
FRG SPD Chairman Discusses Unity *[ADN]* 41
Peace Initiative Member on FRG, Elections *[Hamburg DPA]* 41
Concern Expressed Over FRG 'Takeover' *[Hamburg DPA]* 41
Foreign Ministry Hails Release of Mandela *[ADN]* 41

HUNGARY

Horn Accepts NATO Role for United Germany *[Budapest Radio]* 42
Government Repudiates Agreement With Romania *[MTI]* 42
Government 'Concerned' by Romanian Demonstrations *[Budapest Radio]* 42
Romanian Priest Laszlo Tokes Continues Visit 42
Interviewed on Romanian Events *[MTI]* 42
Comments on Visit *[MTI]* 43

Keleti on Cooperation With Romanian Army *[Budapest TV]* 43
Trade Talks With Romania Concluded *[MTI]* 44
Trade Minister Views Current Economic 'Crisis' *[MTI]* 44
Horn on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks *[NEPSZABADSAG 2 Feb]* 44
Szuros on Church-State Relations *[MTI]* 45
Cardinal Casaroli Continues Visit to Hungary 46
Nemeth, Casaroli Hold News Conference *[MTI]* 46
Sign Relations Documents *[MTI]* 46
Szuros, Casaroli Hold 'Cordial' Talks *[MTI]* 47
Nemeth, Casaroli Exchange Toasts *[MTI]* 47

POLAND

Skubiszewski on Soviet Ties, Reunification *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Views WWII Compensation *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Silesia Nationalism During Election Campaign Noted *[Semprich in RZECZPOSPOLITA 6 Feb]* 49
Sejm Session Discusses New Interior Law *[PAP]* 49
Sejm 'Incident' Reported *[Warsaw Radio]* 50
Mazowiecki Contacts Paris Club on Debt *[PAP]* 50
Mazowiecki Arrives in London on Official Visit *[PAP]* 50
Soviet Troop Withdrawal Deadline Viewed *[Warsaw Radio]* 51
Jaruzelski at UN Views Past Policies *[PAP]* 51

ROMANIA

U.S. Secretary of State Meets With Roman *[ROMPRES]* 52
Roman's Statements After Talks *[ROMPRES]* 52
Baker-Iliescu Meeting *[ROMPRES]* 52
Baker Meets With Students 52
Party Leaders Comment on Talks *[ROMPRES]* 52
Baker-Tokes Meeting *[MTI]* 53
Baker, Tokes View Elections *[ROMPRES]* 53
Iliescu Comments on Visit *[Bucharest Radio]* 54
Baker Concludes Visit, Departs *[ROMPRES]* 54
National Unity Council Holds Session *[ROMPRES]* 54
Further on Meeting *[ROMPRES]* 55
AFP Reports Meeting 55
Provisional Council Established *[Bucharest Radio]* 55
Further on Talks *[ROMPRES]* 55
Agreement Reached on Composition *[ROMPRES]* 56
Iliescu Statement on Meeting *[AFP]* 56
Council Sets Structure, Composition *[ROMPRES]* 56
Roundtable Talks To Resume 14 Feb *[ROMPRES]* 57
NSF Representatives, Parties To Resume Talks *[Bucharest Radio]* 57
Intellectuals Demand Accounting of Securitate *[AFP]* 57
100,000 Demonstrate for Magyar Education *[Budapest Radio]* 58
Munteanu Resignation Letter to Iliescu *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
1,500 Demonstrate Outside TV Studios *[AFP]* 59
Brucan, Apostol Exchange Accusations *[ROMANIA LIBERA 10 Jan]* 59
• National Salvation Front Election Plans Scored *[ROMANIA LIBERA 25 Jan]* 59

YUGOSLAVIA

SFRY Applies for Council of Europe Membership *[TANJUG]* 62
Assembly Discussion of Kosovo Continues 62
Drnovsek Address *[Belgrade Radio]* 62
Supports Presidency on Kosovo Program *[TANJUG]* 67
Adopts 'Conclusions' on Situation *[TANJUG]* 68
Further on Conclusions *[TANJUG]* 68
Federal Chamber Assesses Assembly Decision *[TANJUG]* 69
Alternative Group Communique on Kosovo Events *[Pristina Radio]* 70

Leader Issues Statement *[TANJUG]* 70
Kosovo LC Committee Holds Meeting *[TANJUG]* 71
Chief of Staff Adzic Visits Kosovo Units *[TANJUG]* 72
Talks With Kosovo Leaders *[TANJUG]* 72
TU Council Appeals to Kosovo Workers *[TANJUG]* 73
8 Feb Situation in Kosovo Reported *[TANJUG]* 73
Kambovskiy Details Kosovo Casualties, Arrests *[TANJUG]* 74
4 Kosovo Albanians Treated in Ljubljana *[POLITIKA 8 Feb]* 74
Protest Meetings in Serbia Reported *[BORBA 2 Feb]* 74
Belgrade Protesters Chant Anti-Tito Slogans *[BORBA 1 Feb]* 75
30 Political Prisoners in Jail in Bosnia *[BORBA 2 Feb]* 75

BCP Socialist Faction Quits Supreme Council

AU0902121190 Sofia BTA in English 1111 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 9 (BTA)—All three representatives of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] faction Alternative Socialist Organisation (ASO) have left the BCP Supreme Council. The ASO members Ms. Koprinka Chervenkova, Academician Kiril Vasilev and Prof. Dr. Ivan Nikolov were included in the BCP Supreme Council with the additional quota of 22 people who had received more than half of the votes at the 14th BCP Congress but had failed to get a sufficient number of votes to qualify as members of the council, whose size was first limited to 131 members.

Ms. Koprinka Chervenkova was the first to announce her resignation from the BCP Supreme Council in a letter to RABOTNICHESKO DELO which was published on February 6.

Academician Kiril Vasilev and Prof. Dr. Ivan Nikolov resigned by a declaration to the chairman of the BCP Supreme Council, which appeared in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

The statement categorically objects against the cadre compromise made with the election of the BCP Supreme Council. The authors write that part of its members do not have a good political reputation. They are exponents of the old way of thinking and action, and the ASO members, being in the minority, will find it very difficult to defend their positions in that body.

According to the declaration, ASO believes that the BCP can only achieve political and organisational unity on the basis of a unity of ideological convictions and a unity of ideas.

Yesterday's RABOTNICHESKO DELO reported that another BCP Supreme Council member, Mr. Khristo Ganev, has left this position. He wrote to the editor that he had been elected to the council without being a delegate to the party congress.

Chervenkova's Letter

AU1002212290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Feb 90 p 2

["Letter" from Supreme Council member Koprinka Chervenkova to the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party issued in Sofia on 3 February]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, as a guest at the 14th BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Extraordinary Congress, I was not entitled to participate in the election of new party leading organs. Subsequently, I learned that my election to the Supreme Party Council had taken place as a result of the introduction of an additional quota. Despite the fact that it was adopted on the basis of a delegates' vote, this quota continues to evoke controversial reaction both among BCP members and other social circles in our country. In spite of the fact that the addition of 22 more members to the council is based on the party statute, it causes strong tensions at the present moment, tensions likely to affect the prestige of the new BCP leadership and to make my future work difficult.

As a result of this, I consider it my moral obligation to withdraw from Supreme Party Council for the time being. 3 February 1990, Sofia. Signed: With my respects, Koprinka Chervenkova.

ASO's 2d National Conference Opens

AU1102143590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] The Second National Conference of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], a faction of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], opened at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia.

After the election of the Secretariat, the Editorial Commission, and the Commission on Electing Organs, Professor Ivan Nikolov read a report on behalf of the Provisional Political Council.

He spoke about the basic elements in the factions's work after its First National Conference and during the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress. He described the faction's activity since its establishment and outlined the ASO's future tactics and strategy in constructing a new and democratic society.

ASO aims at restructuring the party into a modern socialist party through its total de-Stalinization and de-bolshevization. This includes a break with the BCP's claims for any special or privileged status in society, relinquishing all forms of violence, including the dictatorship of the proletariat, and relinquishing democratic centralism as an organizational principle of party organization.

Our goal is not that the ASO remains a faction within the BCP, but that the BCP becomes a faction in the ASO, Prof. Ivan Nikolov said.

The conference is continuing.

ASO Members Leave BCP

AU1102180390 Sofia BTA in English 1657 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Alternative Socialist Party"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 11 (BTA)—The Alternative Socialist Party will consider socialism not as a social system but as an inevitable trend in the development of civilization, reads today's declaration made by 30 intellectuals. They left the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and its faction Alternative Socialist Organization (ASO) and together with some non-party men who joined them adopted the initiative to organize a new socialist party.

The declaration was read today by Nikolay Vasilev, associate professor in philosophy at Sofia University, at a conference of the faction ASO.

For the new party founders socialism is a trend for humanizing of social relations, for providing social justness. In its economic programme the party will stand for a market economy, partially regulated by the state and for freedom of the private initiative and the cooperative forms, traditional for Bulgaria.

The Alternative Socialist Party sees itself as "a party without a past but with a future." It will seek allies among the radical and reformers forces of the BCP and the BZNS (the Agrarian Party), with the Socio-Democratic Party and all democratic movements in the country.

Further on Alternative Party

AU1102192890 Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 11 Feb 90

["A New Party Breaks Away From the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 11 (BTA)—Thirty intellectuals broke away from the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and together with non-party people who joined them became initiators for founding the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP). Declaration about this was read today at a conference of the BCP faction Alternative Socialist Organization (ASO). Judging by the audience reaction and by the statements made there, a significant part of the faction members will go to the new party. As many as 600 people have already enrolled in it. At the same time ASO will also exist as a faction of the BCP. It was founded in the beginning of January and declared itself against totalitarianism, for "de-Lenization" and renounced democratic centralism.

Most of the people present at the conference, a total of 3,000 people, approved the statements, which backed the stance for separation of the factions from the BCP. Even these who defended the need that the faction should continue its existence did not deny that "there will be for certain an organizational break-up of the Communist Party."

This conviction was motivated with the conclusion made after the BCP Extraordinary Congress that about a million of people with immensely different opinions: from Stalinists to social democrats are members of the BCP. Some of the speakers doubted whether it is possible at all to democratize the BCP. Still others were even more categorical: the BCP cannot be reformed from the inside. They drew their arguments from the congress, too, which, according to them was limited only with denouncing the former dictator Zhivkov. At this congress, according to factionists, an uniting was reached round the centre with the help of the "compromising" participation of the ASO.

Certain opinions were expressed at the conference about ASO's future: separation into a Socialist Party, preservation as a faction, to be able "to carry educational work from the inside" and "bring to the formation of a "right" wing", so as to grow into an above-party or interparty preelection association.

The platform "Bulgarian Road to Europe" made an invitation for uniting the factions with the ideological currents and platforms in the Communist Party into a "left wing" in the BCP.

The ASO delegates who participated in the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress which was held 10 days ago made a declaration in which they objected against the infringements of the statute and procedure for electing of the party's leading bodies, made at the congress. A political declaration of ASO insists for convening of a new extraordinary BCP congress.

Party Member Criticizes Politburo, Resigns

AU0902150390 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian No. 6, 8 Feb 90 p 5

[Statement by Kiril Gonchev: "Why I Am Leaving the Party"]

[Text] Today, 16 January 1990, after 18 years and seven months of membership in the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], I am obliged to leave the party. This was no easy decision for me because the road from enthusiasm for the communist ideal to the collapse of the illusions is a long one—it passes through blind delusion, through doubts and hesitation, until one day it reaches the logical loss of faith. Whereas up to 10 November 1989, I still retained certain fragile illusions that my party would find a way to emerge from the deep crisis that the party's self-appointed leaders had led it into, the events following this date once again confirmed the extent to which nothing old has been forgotten and nothing new has been learned.

I do not agree that Todor Zhivkov is the sole person responsible for the tragic state in which we find ourselves as a society and a state. If this had been so, you, comrades in the Politburo, would long ago have brought him to the trial that now, despite your efforts, awaits him. The totalitarian system is far from being his invention, and to make such a claim after "the autumn of the dictators" is frivolous, to say the least. In identifying itself with that very party, the top echelon of the party long ago took over the party's functions and, isolated in its narcissism, has long ceased to be the exponent of the party's true interests. The leaders of yesterday and today, lovingly engaged in contemplation of their own all-powerful selector, were ready at the first sign from him to destroy themselves by voting against each other, thus leading the party into its present cadre poverty. Self-protection necessarily became the motive force for the personnel changes in the so-called Central Committee Politburo, and from there extended downward to the other units of the nomenklatura. In this way, the desire

for personal survival in the system naturally provided the reason to support the removal of Todor Zhivkov from power on 10 November that was shown by those who until then had been his most loyal comrades in arms. However, the operation itself has remained veiled in the masonic secrecy that was invented long ago, and that prompts in me the thought that we are really talking about a palace coup d'etat.

How otherwise might we explain, comrades of the Politburo, the subsequent respect and gratitude shown to individuals who had deeply compromised themselves and who symbolized the totalitarian system? Does it mean that here again we have "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," or "love for love"? Have you asked yourselves what the rank-and-file Communists think about you, when yesterday you replaced Boris Velchev with Aleksandur Lilov, then replaced Lilov with Chudomir Aleksandrov, and him with Milko Balev, after which you closed the circle by restoring Lilov again? Do you ask yourselves how they feel now, when ordinary people driven into desperation by your short-sighted policies fill the streets and squares with their cries of "Down with the Bulgarian Communist Party!"? Even when you adopt correct decisions that have been forced upon you, you demonstrate your complete theoretical helplessness, your lack of psychological tact, and arrogance toward your party comrades. I give you two examples from December 1989: The first is at the rally in front of the Bulgarian National Bank [on 13 December], when the general secretary announced the repeal of Article 1 of the Constitution as if this was already a fact. Next day, at the National Assembly session, it turned out that not a single participant in the preceding Central Committee plenum had read their own Constitution. This naturally led to the justified anger of the people who were thirsting for democracy, and whom you preferred to call extremists, instead of apologizing to them and explaining to them that you are constitutionally illiterate as well.

The second example was on 15 December. Acting correctly, you met with the leaders of the opposition and informed them about the forthcoming annulment of the monstrous "revival process." However, the two weeks before 29 December were insufficient for you to find the time and strength (is not the fact that some of you took direct part in the "explanatory work" in this process a reason for this?) to go to Shumen, Razgrad, Turgovishte, Khaskovo, and Kurdzhali in order to patiently dispel, showing statesmanlike wisdom, the foreseeable fears for the future of a population that includes thousands of your fellow party members. This was what led those who were thirsting for dialogue into unrestrained protest, which you described as a protest by chauvinists and nationalists, forgetting that you have no other people than these. In the solitude of your Olympian self-confidence, you in fact have long been cut off from the people, and they have sought out other leaders.

As far as I myself am concerned, while remaining faithful to the communist ideal, I have no further need of leaders but prefer to remain alone, by myself, and to try to make sense of my delusions and hesitations. In leaving the BCP, I wish to thank my comrades in the party organizations of which I have been a member to date, and the Communists in the party organization of the Writers Union, in whose honesty and readiness to come to the aid of those in need I have always believed, and whose supporting shoulders I have always felt present behind me. Thank you again, dear comrades, and I hope that we will continue to look in the same direction in the future.

To those members of the 50 primary party organizations who have failed to find the dignity to leave the membership of the Central Committee, I have only one word to say: "Farewell!"

16 January 1990.

[Editorial note] This text was read at a meeting of 50 primary party organizations and was sent as a declaration to the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

Former King Simeon Still Citizen

AU1102204690 Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Former King Believes in Bulgaria's Renewal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 11 (BTA)—In a 50-minute interview taped in Madrid and broadcast in the most popular programme "Every Sunday" Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (of Turnovo), former King of Bulgaria said that he believes in the good intentions and realism of this country's present leaders. As a democratic republic with a multi-party political system, Bulgaria, a country with a 13-century history will find its due place in Europe and in the world at large. The democratic world will back and is already backing the restructuring and already renewed Bulgaria, he added.

"I would live as a citizen in a fully democratic and multi-party republic, in my country," Simeon said.

The journalist who interviewed him surprised the former King by handing him a document issued by the Bulgarian Ministry of Justice, according to which he is not stripped of his Bulgarian citizenship.

"This is one of the best presents I ever got," said Simeon.

Simeon, who is living in Madrid with his family and is engaged in business and finances, said that he has perfect international connections and after a 44-year unjustified exile he could help for the country's overcoming of the economic crisis and isolation. "The doors of many an office and yards in Europe are open for me," he said.

According to the former king, who left Bulgaria at the age of 9 in 1946, the future of the Bulgarian economics is in the development of market economy. "One should not go to extremes. The country needs something like "socio-capitalism", which means freedom of the initiative, social justness, prosperity," he said.

The TV interview which gave the Bulgarians a chance to see for the first time their 53-year-old now former King, was preceded in the last ten days by large interviews with him, run by OTECHESTVEN FRONT and broadcast by the Bulgarian radio.

Simeon thinks that in the conditions of democracy in Bulgaria many people will be able to present themselves as able politicians. "We did not have politicians up till now but only people who fulfilled resolutions who were made by a single person and subjected to ideology," he said.

Simeon warned the Bulgarian people not to cherish illusions, that for 90 days the country can become renewed and democratic. "Look at the experience of Poland, who has already been continuing for 11 years," he said.

Lukanov Briefs Ambassadors on New Government

AU0902225790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Today Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the following foreign ambassadors to Bulgaria: USSR Ambassador Viktor Sharapov; Sol Polansky, ambassador of the United States; Bertrand Marie Guilhem de Lataillade, ambassador of France, the country that formerly chaired the European Community; and Giorgio Visetti, acting chief of mission of the Italian Embassy in Sofia and representative of the country that is currently chairing the European Community. Andrey Lukanov also met Japanese Ambassador Takashi Tajita.

Andrey Lukanov briefed the ambassadors on the efforts to form a Bulgarian government on a broad basis. He dwelled on the basic goals and tasks of the Cabinet, whose leadership he has assumed in connection with stabilizing the social and economic life in the country and ensuring our country's peaceful transition to a democratic system. He pointed out that Bulgaria is willing to do everything within its power to preserve the confidence between our country and its partners in the future, which is a very important prerequisite for the further development of mutually advantageous cooperation.

The mutual interest in an active development of cooperation between Bulgaria and the relevant countries was pointed out at the meetings.

Lilov on Importance of Youth Organizations

AU1002171090 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 5 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Bulgarian Communist Party Council Presidium, with unidentified NARODNA MLADEZH reporter "from the last briefing following the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress" on 3 February in Sofia]

[Text] [NARODNA MLADEZH] Comrade Lilov, you were once secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, can you tell us something about the party's relations with young people and youth organizations?

[Lilov] Our party relies on the young people, it likes the young people, and is doing everything within its efforts to make a better life for them in Bulgaria. We rely on their energies, their knowledge, and their innovative talents. I do not have the impression that young people today are as fearful and obedient as youths used to be, and I consider this a positive feature of the new situation.

Speaks at BCP Meeting

AU1102202390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] A meeting took place on 11 February at the Georgi Kirkov Hall of the Party House in Sofia. The meeting was attended by members of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Council, members of the BCP Parliamentary Group, the first secretaries of the BCP municipal committees, secretaries of the hitherto BCP oblast committees, and secretaries of primary party organizations.

Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Party Council, read a report entitled Party Renewal and Preparation For Parliamentary Elections—Uniform Process of Implementing the Decisions of the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress.

Recalling that the party has not overcome the inertia and passivity that are results of the serious political, economic, social, and moral crisis caused by the former totalitarian regime, Aleksandur Lilov outlined the road toward overcoming this dangerous situation. The change can take place through an active discussion and implementing the decisions of the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress, as well as through an active preparation for the forthcoming parliamentary election.

The speaker concluded that the elections will be a test and indication of the party's real renewal. The process of the party's renewal and the preelection political struggle are now united by the common interest that contains four basic elements.

According to the speakers they are: The party's ability to assume the initiative and conduct an open, self-critical, and competent discussion of the most pressing problems of the country with the participation of all party members; defending the people's achievements during the last 45 years without allowing the underestimation of the real achievements; continuing the criticism of the mistakes, distortions, corruptions, deformations, and the crisis and its consequence, as well as the criticism of those who are guilty for the distortions committed during the period of the authoritarian regime; conducting an active political struggle against the slander of certain malicious political figures who want to utilize the crisis situation and the party's self-criticism for their selfish goals, and at the same time defame the party and socialism.

The report contained basic conclusions about the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress, described as a forum of

renewal, that selected the correct direction and road of development and strengthened the party's political and organizational unity.

The ideological pluralism was pointed out as a new phenomenon in the party's life.

Along with those positive tendencies, the report also pointed out the steadfastness and inertia of conservative thinking and actions, the lack of political realism, and the (?negative approach) toward the platform for economic progress that was clearly outlined at the congress. The report also analyzed the immediate party tasks and the preparations for the elections. Winning the forthcoming free elections was pointed out as the main task at the present political stage.

The following persons took part in the discussion: Gergin Gerginov; Aleksandur Yankov, member of the Supreme Party Council and the BCP Parliamentary Group; Lyuben Dinov, member of the Supreme Party Council; (?Boyko) Nikolov, first secretary of the BCP Svishtov Municipal Committee; Zhivko Zhivkov, member of the BCP Parliamentary Group; Ventsislav Velkov, member of the Supreme Party Council; Ivan Prumov, member of the BCP Parliamentary Group; Vanka Stoyanova; and Ivan Iliev, member of the BCP Parliamentary Group.

Aleksandur Lilov read a concluding statement.

Roundtable Contact Group Meets 8 Feb

AU0802191590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] On 8 February, a meeting of the contact group, founded by the national roundtable, took place. It was chaired by co-Chairmen Zhelyu Zhelev and Georgi Pirinski. This group will work between the roundtable sessions under the leadership of the co-chairmen with the view to increasing the sessions' efficiency.

According to a mutual agreement, the contact group discussed issues related to the changes in the political system and began to prepare the draft of the agreement.

The roundtable will support with its activity all constructive proposals and acts of the state organs and public forces that are aimed at further democratizing the political system and renewing Bulgaria.

Restrictions on Abortions Lifted

AU0802192390 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—The abortion restrictions, imposed under the pretext of increasing birthrates in the country, have been lifted. The respective decree of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare will be published in tomorrow's STATE GAZETTE.

Three days after the publication of the decree women are free to have artificial abortions in any hospital they would like to, no matter how many children they may have.

Further on National Assembly Proceedings

AU0802225190 Sofia BTA in English 2211 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Sofia, February 8 (BTA)—During the evening sitting of today's National Assembly session, on behalf of the government, Mr. Andrey Lukanov made a declaration in which its political, economic, and social program for the next months is outlined. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the declaration, the national representatives spoke about the necessity to take urgent economic and administrative measures for overcoming the economic crisis. They stressed the potential of agriculture, the rapid development of which will make it possible to meet the requirements in the home market and realize currency profits.

For example viticulture taken alone (undervalued in the last ten years) can yield an annual profit of 400-500 million currency leva. It was pointed out that an active anti-inflation policy should be evolved, that the administrative apparatus should be reduced, that the endless reorganizations should be decisively stopped and that firm measures should be taken against strikes.

The national representatives relieved Mr. Andrey Lukanov of his post of chairman of the Parliamentary Commission Investigating the Abuses and Breaches of Law and elected Mr. Rumen Serbezov to this post.

After heated debates in connection with the question of M.P. Nikolay Khaytov concerning the pollution of environment in the vicinity of the nonferrous metal works near Plovdiv and Kurdzhali and the petitions presented to the National Assembly by the population of these areas, it was decided to build a new lead plant in a new site outside Kurdzhali by 1995. Until the completion of the construction work of the new plant, lead will be temporarily produced by using local raw material only and by taking additional measures for ecological protection. As of 1990 the export of lead is suspended. In parallel with the construction of the new project, measures will be taken to update and reconstruct the zinc production in the combined works near Plovdiv.

A decision was adopted to outline concrete measures for making safe the technological cycle in the two combined works.

Closing the session Mr. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, pointed out that new steps were taken for the establishment of the future permanently functioning parliament. The session, held three times in January and February, covered yet another distance along the road to a state committed to the rule of law and to a civil society.

He summarized the major results of the session, underlining that a number of problems, which the public is greatly concerned about, were settled in the conditions of a free and good-willed discussion.

After Mr. Todorov's speech the session was closed.

'Political Declaration' of BCP at Congress

AU0802132090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Feb 90 pp 1,2

["Manifesto for Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria—Political Declaration of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party," adopted at the congress in Sofia on 1 February]

[Text] At the end of the 20th century and on the eve of the 21st century, socialism is experiencing a period of crucial change in its historical development and realization.

The time has come to change many of the previous ideas about socialism and the parties that are struggling to realise socialism in society.

Our party was formed in 1891. It has traveled along a long and complex road during its century-long existence. At different stages of Bulgaria's historical development, and depending on the goals that it set itself, the party has changed its programs and its name. It made its appearance as the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) in 1891, and subsequently adopted the following names: Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (1894); Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (left wing), in 1903; Bulgarian Communist Party (left wing), in 1919; Bulgarian Workers' Party (1938-39); Bulgarian Workers' Party (communist); and, finally, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], in 1948.

By changing its programs, its name, its aims, and its organizational structure, the party responded to the problems of the relevant periods of history.

This is quite natural. Parties are not ossified organizations but living political formations with long-term and short-term aims, with final and specifically historical goals. The parties develop together with the development of social reality.

The BCP today is not the same party that the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party was, and it will not be the same tomorrow as it is today. One of the most important tasks of our party's theoretical and historical thought is to subject our century-long historical path and experience to an in-depth reassessment and rethinking. The party needs new assessments from new viewpoints that correspond to the contemporary achievements of human civilization and science, and which will enable us to draw the necessary lessons from the main periods, events, and trends our achievements, defeats, successes, errors, and distortions.

We need an objective scientific history of the party that is faithful to the harsh truth about the stormy course of the social struggles during the last century.

We need to realistically assess the party's entire activity as a ruling party following the victory of the 9 September 1944 Revolution in Bulgaria. We must soberly sum up, defend, and develop all that is of value, and categorically condemn, reject, and correct the errors, deformations, and distortions.

The party's services in the struggle against fascism and capitalism are indisputable. As a ruling party, it does have things of which it can be proud. The achievements and progressive transformations in Bulgaria are there for everyone to see. During the period from 1944 to 1990, our people, the workers' class, the laboring peasantry, and the intelligentsia, have created material and intellectual values, an economy, education, a health service, culture, and a living standard that has led Bulgaria out of its backwardness and form a basis for the country's development.

It would be wrong to belittle the valuable capital of what has been achieved. It would be just as wrong to conceal or underestimate the serious position that our country is now in. We must state clearly that as a result of the command-administrative system and the permitted errors and distortions, especially in recent years, the country has today entered a serious economic and political crisis.

It is now important not only not to identify the party with those directly responsible for the crisis, but also for the party to realize its own responsibility.

The party condemns the deformations and distortions permitted by the authoritarian regime of T. Zhivkov and his entourage, and considers that the people who misused the confidence of the party and people or abused the law must be made to render strict account for their actions. In addition, the party accepts its own responsibility and it will make an in-depth analysis of this period and draw the necessary conclusions while creating, in the process of its own renewal, sure guarantees against the recurrence of one-man power.

It is necessary to carry out an in-depth, comprehensive renewal of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

Looking at the overall situation, we now face the task OF DE-STALINIZING THE BCP and creating A MODERN MARXIST PARTY OF A NEW TYPE that is capable of being an ideological and political leader of the forces of society and the people's masses, which are struggling to construct a society of democratic, humane socialism.

THE 14TH BCP CONGRESS PROCLAIMS THAT A START IS BEING MADE ON TRANSFORMING THE BCP INTO PRECISELY SUCH A NEW TYPE OF PARTY—A PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IN BULGARIA.

Today, at its extraordinary congress, the party is not ready to adopt an overall political program. This is a task for the next congress.

We also face the task of drafting the party's election platform.

What we need now is a NEW IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ORIENTATION THAT CORRESPONDS TO THE CONTEMPORARY PROCESSES AND TRENDS IN THE WORLD, AND TO THE NEW REALITIES IN WORLD REALITY AND OUR OWN NATIONAL REALITY. WE ALSO NEED A RADICAL REORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY in order to respond to the demands of the times and to be in a position to successfully resolve the new problems.

The contemporary world is a world of new realities. Stormy changes are under way in the development of science, technology, and production. The problems of peace and war have undergone a radical change. Global ecological, energy, demographic, and other problems have made their appearance. Profound social changes are taking place. The end of the "cold war" has come, and work has begun on building a new Europe, a common European home, and a peaceful world. It is not so much issues of antagonism and struggle between the different classes and formations that are increasingly coming to the forefront in history's development, but rather interaction and cooperation to ensure mankind's survival and the mutually beneficial solving of contemporary problems. Universal human values and progressive changes and evolutions in civilization are becoming exceptionally important.

The radical changes that are occurring in the perception and development of world socialism form an important part of the new realities. The restructuring and renewal of socialist society that has begun in the USSR and in other socialist countries are a remarkable development in our modern times. In essence, a radical change is being made in the historical realization of socialist society, "a revolution within a revolution" that is aimed at building a democratic and humane socialism. This will be a prolonged, difficult, and painful process, but it is inevitable because its purpose is to overcome the distortion of the concepts, ideas, and realities of the socialist society and to implement in real life the age-old ideas, principles, and values of socialism as a further development of what has been achieved by human civilization and history.

Socialism is necessary and possible only as a movement forward from what has already been achieved as a society that is more democratic, more just, more prosperous for all its members, and more humane than capitalist society.

The authoritarian system of socialist society that existed until now could not ensure this. Life itself has rejected it. It is our historical task to take a step forward in the development of socialist society and to achieve a new level in implementing its ideas of liberty, democracy, justice, and humanitarianism.

In this worldwide and national context, an examination must be made of the restructuring that has started in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The party condemns the demagogy of T. Zhivkov and his entourage with regard to restructuring. Floods of words poured out and many documents were adopted during the last two to three years. However, this regime did not want and was unable to complete a restructuring and renewal of socialist society in Bulgaria because it was itself the product and personification of authoritarianism.

In rejecting this regime, and after reaching the conclusion that the authoritarian model of socialist society cannot implement the ideas and possibilities of socialism on Bulgarian soil, THE PARTY ADOPTED A COURSE FOR THE IN-DEPTH RENEWAL OF ITSELF AND SOCIETY.

The party declares that from now on it links its fate, struggle, theory, organization, and political prestige with the completion of a profound restructuring and renewal of our society into a democratic and humane socialist society.

The party poses the issue sharply and clearly for all its members and organizations: We will either succeed in fulfilling this demand of the time or leave the political stage!

The party also considers itself dutybound to declare this truth to the workers' class, the peasants, and the people's intelligentsia, whose interests it serves and whose representatives make up its membership.

The party appeals to all citizens of all generations in the People's Republic of Bulgaria who want their children to live in a democratic, humane, and law-governed state and a civilized, truly socialist society to support the party's reforming cause.

In the state in which it is today, the BCP, with all its merited services and successes and with all its honest self-criticism concerning the errors and distortions committed, is not in a position to fulfill this new historical task. AN IN-DEPTH RENEWAL OF THE PARTY ITSELF IS REQUIRED.

This means retaining the progressive values and traditions in the party's century-long history and rethinking history in order to derive the necessary conclusions and lessons.

However, most of all this means creating a new type of modern Marxist party.

This is why the BCP members, organizations, leading organs, and cadres now face three fundamental issues with all their force, gravity, and responsibility, issues on whose solution the party's restructuring depends.

These three issues are as follows:

WHAT KIND OF PARTY DO WE WANT TO BE?

WHAT GOALS ARE WE SETTING OURSELVES?

BY WHICH WAYS AND MEANS DO WE BELIEVE WE CAN ACHIEVE THESE GOALS?

WHAT PARTY DO WE WANT TO BE?

Socialism's restructuring and renewal requires a new type of party. We must become a PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM.

De-Stalinization of the party is not enough. A profound change is needed in the nature of the party and in interpreting and solving questions that are of fundamental importance for the party itself and for society's development.

On the Question of Power

The party itself renounces the statement in the Constitution concerning the party's leading role in society and also renounces its monopoly of power. The structural and cadre merging of the party with the state is harmful both to society and to the party itself.

This does not mean giving up the struggle for power but is an admission of the supreme will of the people concerning the issue of who will govern them and how. The party will strive, solely by democratic means and in free elections, to win the people's vote for building democratic socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

On the Question of the Party's Ideological and Theoretical Foundations

We are a Marxist party inspired by the ideals of scientific socialism. The party will utilize everything that has been confirmed by practical experience and that continues to be true in the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Blagoev and Dimitrov, and of eminent Marxist theoreticians from other countries and parties in the development of social thought, in the communist and social democratic movement, in the achievements of progressive social sciences outside Marxism, and in the development of science, culture, and civilization in the modern world. While following the traditions of Marxism, we need to develop a wide intellectual horizon, to assimilate and utilize universal human values and world culture. Our party rejects dogmatism and stresses the vital necessity of a new, contemporary stage in the creative development of the theory of scientific socialism.

The party will continue to conduct an active ideological and political struggle to defend the choice of socialism made by our people.

On the Social Composition of the Party

We are a party of the working people. Our party defends the interests of the workers and peasants who create the material wealth, of the scientific, engineering, and technical intelligentsia who are increasingly coming to the forefront in social production, and of the creative people of arts and culture, without whom a civilized and humane socialist society is impossible. We are a party that is open to all age groups.

The party attaches particular importance to its policy regarding the youth and considers that it is necessary to intensify its activities among this section of the population.

On the Democratization of Inner Party Life and the Unity of the Party

The relations between the Communists and the party organs and organizations are built upon the following principles of democratic unity and humanitarianism: FIRST, equality in rights and obligations, which excludes all forms of privileges and restrictions; SECOND, high ethical standards, party comradeship, and mutual respect; THIRD, personal responsibility in conformity with the post assumed in the party; FOURTH, independence of the party organizations in discussing and resolving the problems of their activity, and the prohibition of seizing the rights and functions of their organs; FIFTH, responsibility for the decisions adopted and actions carried out; SIXTH, development and adoption of the party's policy through the direct and representative participation of all Communists in a general party discussion and dialogue; SEVENTH, freedom of discussion and criticism; EIGHTH, conscious and democratic unification of the Communists and party organizations in conducting party policy and effecting its decisions.

Only a party that is deeply democratized can be a standard bearer and exponent of social progress.

On the Party's Cadre Policy and the Party Apparatus

Our policy is complete renunciation of the nomenklatura system for selecting, nurturing, and developing the party leaders at all levels in the party.

The party's cadre policy will be based on the system of developing the cadres in real social practice, and on supporting and promoting the most capable, most competent, morally pure, and authoritative people who have distinguished themselves in various spheres of social development and won the recognition of the relevant collectives.

The party will maintain a small apparatus of political workers and experts, making wide use of the public-service principle in the whole of its activity. Given the sharp reduction of the party apparatus and ridding the party and its leadership of discredited persons, fairness requires that one should not permit those cadres that have worked honorably and defended the workers' interests to be discredited.

On Interrelations With Other Parties, Movements, and Organizations

The party declares its support for political pluralism in public life.

It is natural for the party to maintain the closest interrelations with all organizations and parties with socialist leanings.

The party will continue to work to strengthen the historically established, decades-long alliance and cooperation with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union.

In a society of democratic socialism, the party will conduct a dialogue with all political and public forces that are working for the prosperity of the working people and the country.

Our alliance and cooperation with other political forces are built upon the principles of complete independence and autonomy, on honest partnership and interaction, trust, and a joint struggle for the benefit of the people and the motherland.

The party will conduct a campaign inside and outside parliament, during which and through which it may achieve compromises, unity of action, consensus, as well as disassociation, confrontation, and opposition.

On the Party's International Ties

We are an independent national and patriotic party with deep roots in Bulgarian history and traditions, a party that autonomously adopts its own decisions in both the domestic and international spheres. We are a party of internationalists. We possess long-standing international links that form valuable capital for us. We will continue our close cooperation with the CPSU and the parties of the socialist countries. We will continue to devote special attention to developing interrelations with the communist and workers' parties, the socialist and social democratic parties of the Socialist International, the progressive and revolutionary parties and movements, and all leftist and democratic organizations that support peace, humanitarianism, and progress.

On the Question of the Party's Name

Many Communists and a number of party organizations are raising the issue of the party's name.

Various suggestions are being put forward: to retain the party's previous name, or to adopt a new name, such as the Party of Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria (communist), abbreviated to PDSB(c); Communist Party of Democratic Socialism (CPDS); Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP); Renewed Bulgarian Communist Party (RBCP); Bulgarian Democratic Communist Party (BDCP), and so on.

The question of the party's name is no formal matter, but an important political issue. Without denying the party's century-long history, we nevertheless cannot fail to see the pressing need to make changes to the party's name. The purpose of the change should be both to indicate dissociation from the gross distortions committed and, most of all, to define the party's immediate historical task, though not its final goal.

On the question of the party's name, it will clearly be most correct to hold a wide, all-party discussion and a party referendum.

WHAT GOALS ARE WE SETTING OURSELVES?

The chief aim that the party is setting for itself in the forthcoming period is THE RESTRUCTURING AND RENEWAL OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BULGARIA. Our immediate task is to build up a DEMOCRATIC socialism.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM IS A SOCIETY OF FREE WORKING PEOPLE THAT GRANTS AND GUARANTEES EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL CITIZENS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR EVERYONE'S FREE DEVELOPMENT. The party understands the building of a democratic and humanitarian socialist society to imply the implementation, without delay, but also without over-venturesome enthusiasm, of in-depth economic, political, and legal reforms, reforms that have been well thought out by highly qualified experts. These reforms are aimed at creating an economy that is up to date in the structural and technological sense, a law-governed state and a civic society, a true democracy, justice, security, and stability in our country.

A democratic and humane socialist society guarantees freedom of speech and the press, freedom of conscience, freedom of cultural and religious life, freedom of association and travel, legal protection of the individual, and secrecy of private life as basic values of human personality.

In adopting a course toward democratic socialism, the party commits itself to RADICAL REFORMS in all spheres of social life.

In the Economy and Social Policy

We are taking a new road and declare the whole truth to the people: This is a road that will pass through a period of several years of emergence from the crisis in which our economy is situated. The process of stabilizing the financial situation and curing the economy of its ills will probably be accompanied by stagnation, or even by a certain fall in private and public consumption. This makes it necessary to take measures in order to prevent a deterioration of the position of those socially weak groups in the population.

A movement toward democratic socialism requires the uncompromising elimination of the administrative-command system and the implementation of a radical economic reform in order to build up a mixed, market-type, and socially oriented economy.

The party supports the development of A DIVERSITY OF FORMS OF OWNERSHIP: state, cooperative, and

municipal ownership, ownership by social organizations, private, and mixed ownership, which are to be realized in a multitude of different ways. All forms of property are to be equal before the law, are to function under identical economic conditions, and are to compete with one another.

The party supports the development of an economy in which THE MECHANISMS OF THE MARKET chiefly regulate production, distribution, and consumption.

The party supports REGULATION OF THE ECONOMY BY THE STATE by exerting indirect influence upon economic activity. This regulation is to be implemented on a legislative basis.

The state should conduct an anti-inflation policy and create a system of organized reallocation, retraining, and social assistance for those who will lose their jobs.

The state plans and programs define the strategy and priorities and assist in their implementation, without these being binding for the economic organizations or being specifically addressed to any of them.

The party regards the economic reform as a means for TECHNOLOGICALLY RENEWING AND RESTRUCTURING THE ECONOMY in line with worldwide achievements and the requirements for decisively increasing its competitiveness.

The party advocates developing an economy that is wholly subordinated to HUMANITY'S NEEDS. We are for combining the market mechanisms with the principles of social justice and social protection. We support a developed system of social guarantees for all workers and equal opportunities for work, income, housing, health care, education, culture, and healthy working and living conditions. We are against any illegal privileges. On the basis of a special law, illegally acquired incomes and property are to be confiscated.

The party advocates an active social policy, especially toward low-income groups in the population. Independent programs are to be drawn up to solve the social problems of young people and women.

The party supports an effective ECOLOGICAL POLICY, guaranteed by law and by uncompromising public control. Priority is to be given to resolving the ecological problems of settlements, regions, and river courses that are especially under threat.

The party considers that the government's program for radical economic reform and for emerging from the crisis situation should include IMMEDIATE MEASURES TO STABILIZE THE CONSUMER MARKET, LESSEN THE UNFAVORABLE EFFECT OF THE FOREIGN DEBT, AND IMPROVE THE COUNTRY'S FINANCIAL POSITION.

One of the important components of this program should be a policy of regrouping the material, financial, and foreign currency resources in order to ensure the accelerated development of agriculture, the food and light industries, and tourism. In these sectors of the economy, it is especially important to immediately proceed toward diversifying the economic forms and relations. A national program is needed for the revival and development of the Bulgarian countryside. The land should be handed over to those who cultivate it.

The policy of reforms and economic recovery should also be accompanied by a campaign against bad management, by reinforcing procedures and adopting legally enforced regulations for resolving labor disputes and conflicts.

During 1990 we must complete the legislative preparations for the economic reform by adopting a package of laws.

On this basis, we must determine a collection of interrelated and correctly timed measures with the aim of effecting, progressively and without excessive delay, the transition to a new system of economic functioning, toward integrating it with the European and world economic structures, and also developing the integration links with the CEMA member countries.

The party is convinced that the successful implementation of the program to revive the economy and to complete a radical economic reform requires uniting the efforts of all social forces and reaching a national consensus.

In the Political System

The political reform that has begun requires the elimination of the command-administrative system of governing society and a radical democratization of social and political life.

The party advocates developing political pluralism and a multiparty system, ensuring the full self-expression of all democratic forces in society. We advocate a timely legal regulation of interrelations in the political system, and interaction between the state and various organizations and parties in conformity with the principles of a civilized democratic society.

Democratic socialism is a society with a law-governed state that ensures the supremacy of the law and guarantees the citizens' rights and liberties. A society of democratic socialism is a society of parliamentary democracy. Only and exclusively the will of the people, expressed through free elections, grants and removes power from one or another party or coalition of parties. This society is built upon the basis of separating legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The latter authorities operate under public control, supplemented by an effective feedback mechanism that excludes the possibility of deformations or distortions.

Democratic socialism means a high degree of autonomy of the local government organs. The party will support diverse forms of popular self-government.

Democratic socialism means a rich and free civic life. It means a society in which people freely unite on the basis of ideas and interests, and in which the rights of man are guaranteed in accordance with generally accepted international norms. The party supports the development of an active civic society.

The party declares its support for making the Army and the security and law-enforcement organs national institutions that stand above the parties. It is against the existence in the latter of any political organizations whatsoever. At the same time, the party is against any restriction of the political and civic rights of those employed in these institutions and of servicemen signed up for fixed terms of service in the Army.

On Science, Culture, and Education

The party advocates a society with a free and varied intellectual life. This society should be based on freedom of thought, diversity and pluralism of ideas, views, and values, support for new contemporary trends in our intellectual development, and the retention of and respect for the precious wealth of our traditions and culture.

Science, culture, and education develop on the principles of democracy, autonomy, and high professionalism. We must quickly and effectively develop our own modern scientific potential, create new, educated, and capable scientific, technical, and teaching cadres, and raise education and culture in Bulgaria to a higher level.

We will encourage in every way the study of universal human achievements and will affiliate ourselves with the ideals of universal human progress, but at the same time will defend the retention and development of the Bulgarian people's unique national and popular character.

On the Nationality Issue

The party supports a SOCIETY OF NATIONAL UNITY AND CONCORD that draws together all the country's citizens irrespective of their ethnic self-awareness and religious faith. The party is for guaranteeing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the motherland, and the study and use of the Bulgarian language as the official language of the country. All citizens must be guaranteed freedom of conducting rituals and use of their mother tongue.

Participation in the development of an overall nationality policy is an especially important and responsible task for the party.

On the Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria

The building of a democratic socialist society is unthinkable without widely opening up Bulgaria to Europe and the world, and to the latest achievements in the spheres of economics, science, technology, and culture. The party declares its support for developing mutually beneficial international cooperation, conforming to priority national interests and the country's real capabilities. Particularly important today is the immediate task of ensuring that the People's Republic of Bulgaria takes up its deserved place in a new Europe, in the building of the common European home.

Under the new conditions, the party will continue to consistently campaign for developing and strengthening relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, and will support Bulgaria's participation in the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. It will also support the bilateral treaties of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid as guarantees for international security in the world, as well as the continuation and development of the policy for good-neighborliness and cooperation in the Balkans, and will also work for cooperation and solidarity with the countries and peoples of the Third World.

By Which Ways and Means Do We Believe We Can Achieve These Goals?

The main road that the party is choosing in order to carry out the restructuring of itself and society is the road of RADICAL DEMOCRATIZATION.

The party proclaims the necessity of implementing specific changes in our state and public life, and will campaign for this, because otherwise democracy is impossible. The most important of these changes are:

Holding free democratic elections.

Creating a permanently operating parliament.

Adopting a new constitution.

Restructuring the legal system and the system of the law protection organs to ensure the supremacy of the law in the state.

Guarantees for human rights, irrespective of ethnic, religious, and other differences.

Raising the level of political education [politicheska kultura] of society.

Democratizing the structure, principles, and procedures for the party's functioning.

The right of different ideological and political tendencies to exist in the party, while at the same time retaining the party as an effective political force in fulfilling the adopted decisions.

Wide glasnost and public control over the activity of the party and all other political, public, and state organs and organizations.

The party is conscious of the complex problems that have to be resolved in order to democratize the party itself, society, and the state. This will not come about quickly, easily, or at a stroke. We need the efforts of all political and public forces in the country and of all Bulgarian citizens in order to create a democratic society in Bulgaria.

However, we solemnly declare to our people and to the world that the BCP, as a party of democratic socialism in Bulgaria, will realize its aims and implement its tasks only by means of political activity and struggle, only and exclusively through democracy.

This is the party's immediate political platform that was adopted at the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress. This is how we view today, at the end of the 20th and on the eve of the 21st century, the development of socialism and the party, our goals in the short term, and the ways to accomplish them.

As far as the long-term tasks and prospects are concerned, the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress considers that it is necessary to begin work on drafting a new program for the party that is to be offered for all-party and nationwide discussion and submitted for approval at the following regular party congress.

THE SUPREME VALUES FOR OUR PARTY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AND REMAIN BULGARIA AND THE FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE, WHOM WE HAVE SERVED FOR 100 YEARS, AND WHOM WE WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO SERVE IN THE FUTURE.

Biographies of New Deputy Premiers

AU0902082490 Sofia BTA in English
0727 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 9 (BTA)—Mr. Chudomir Asenov Aleksandrov was born in Sofia on July 26, 1936. He joined the BCP in 1960. He graduated from the Leningrad Mining Institute and worked as a research associate at Sofia's Research Institute of Metallurgy and Ore Dressing. He holds a decree in technical sciences.

Since 1971 he has been filling senior BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and government posts, including first secretary of the Sofia City BCP Committee, 1979-84, secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, 1981-84, and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, 1984-86.

The Eleventh BCP Congress (1976) elected him alternate member of the CC of the BCP, and he was promoted to full Central Committee membership at the 12th BCP Congress (1981). In 1986 he was again elected secretary of the CC of the BCP. In July 1988 he was dismissed as Politburo member and Central Committee secretary and in December 1988 he was expelled from the CC of the BCP.

Since 1988 he has been president of the Mineral Resources Economic Corporation and then chairman of the Committee for Geology with the Council of Ministers.

Mr. Belcho Antonov Belchev was born in the village of Krustenyatsite near Gabrovo on November 5, 1932. He graduated from the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics in 1957 and holds a university degree in economics.

He joined the BCP in 1964. In 1964 he became a research associate at the Research Institute of Finance and Credit with the Ministry of Finance. He has been deputy minister of finance, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee and first deputy minister of finance. Minister of finance since 1976. Ambassador of Bulgaria to Yugoslavia since 1988. Minister of finance since November 1989.

Elected alternate member of the CC of the BCP at the Eleventh BCP Congress and promoted to full Central Committee membership at the December 1977 Plenum of the CC of the BCP. He was elected member of the CC of the BCP at the 12th and the 13th BCP Congresses. In December 1989 he was elected member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP. The 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress elected him member of the BCP Supreme Council.

Mr. Konstantin Dimitrov Kosev was born in the town of Stanke Dimitrov on August 15, 1937. He joined the BCP in 1968. He holds a university degree in history and is a corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Senior research associate, 1972-77, deputy director of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of History (since 1973) and later on deputy director of the academy's Research Centre for History.

His previous posts include deputy chairman of the Committee for Science and, later on, of the Committee for Science and Higher Education.

Prof. Nora Krachunova Ananieva was born in Lovech on March 30, 1938. She graduated in law from Sofia University. She joined the BCP in 1960. He has held BCP elective offices.

She holds an academic degree in law and a Ph.D. She has been doing research work at the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories with the Presidium of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences since 1971. She was elected professor in 1986 and became deputy director of the institute in 1986. Since 1986 she has headed the International Economic Relations Department at the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics.

Biographies of Cabinet

AU0902095690 Sofia BTA in English
0820 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 9 (BTA)—Mr. Ivan Penev Tenev, minister of the economy and planning, was born in Sofia on February 14, 1940. He holds a university degree in electrical engineering. He joined the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in 1966. Upon his graduation he worked as an engineer and a research associate. He was employed at the Izot State Economic Corporation between 1969 and 1974.

During the next ten years he served as chief of the Science and Technical Progress Department of the Ministry of Electronics and later on as deputy minister. General manager of the Izot State Economic Corporation since 1984. President of the Electronic Industry Association since 1986. First deputy minister of foreign economic relations since December 1989.

Mr. Krustyu Atanasov Stanilov, minister of industry and technology, was born in Plovdiv on July 6, 1935. He holds a university degree in electrical engineering. He graduated from the Higher Technical University in Dresden. He joined the BCP in 1966. Research associate at the Research, Development and Design Institute of the Electrical Engineering Industry since 1969 and later on deputy director of the institute. Staff member of the Industry Department of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, 1973-79. His previous posts include deputy minister of electronics and electrical engineering, first deputy minister of machine building, director general of the Elprom State Economic Corporation, and deputy chairman of the government's Economic Council (since 1986). Later on he was president of the Transport, Farming and Construction Equipment Association. Deputy minister of industry and technology since December 1989.

Mr. Petur Georgiev Bashikarov, minister of foreign economic relations, was born in Moscow on November 30, 1939. A telecommunications engineering graduate from the Lenin Higher Institute of Mechanical Engineering in Sofia. He speaks Russian, English and Japanese. He joined the BCP in 1966. Since 1967 he has worked abroad as an expert and deputy trade representative. Chief of department (since 1974) and deputy minister of foreign trade (since 1976). Reappointed deputy minister of foreign trade in 1979. Ambassador of Bulgaria to Japan since 1986.

Ms. Ekaterina Yakob Marinova, minister of trade and services, was born in Varna on January 30, 1936. She joined the BCP in 1964. She graduated in chemical engineering in Moscow. She was secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, 1968-71, deputy minister of agriculture and food processing, 1971-74 and in 1979, and secretary of the Central Council of the Scientific and Technical Unions. Deputy minister of production and trade in consumer goods, 1982-86, and later on vice president of the Trade and Services Association. Consul general of Bulgaria in Leningrad since 1986.

Prof. Ivan Nikolov Chernozemski, minister of public health and social welfare, was born in Sofia on February 17, 1933. He is an oncologist and director of the National Oncological Centre. A World Health Organisation expert. He speaks English and has a working knowledge of Russian and French.

Prof. Todor Yordanov Pandov, minister of agriculture and food processing, was born in the village of Pelishat, County of Pleven, on November 22, 1933. He joined the BCP in 1966. He holds a university degree in farm economics and organisation. He has worked as an agronomist, a deputy chairman and a chairman of a cooperative farm. In 1967 he was appointed research associate at the Institute of Farm Economics and Organisation. He is a professor and holds a doctorate in economics. In 1982 he was elected first vice president of the Agricultural Academy.

Mr. Ivan Krustev Kamenov, minister of construction, architecture and urban development, was born in the villege of Bezdenitsa, Region of Mikhaylovgrad, on January 29, 1938. He holds a university degree in civil engineering. He joined the BCP in 1965. Director general of the Industrial Construction State Economic Corporation, 1979-86. Head of the Inspectorate General for State and Technical Control and deputy chairman of the Committee for Territorial and Settlement Organisation with the Council of Ministers, 1986-89. Deputy minister of construction, architecture and urban development since November 1989.

Mr. Pencho Stoyanov Penev, minister of justice, was born in the town of Kyustendil on July 7, 1947. He has graduated in law and holds a degree in legal science. He joined the BCP in 1980. He has worked as a judge at the Sofia District and County Courts and as vice president of the Sofia County Court. Chief of division in the Ministry of Justice since 1983.

Mr. Veselin Vasilev Pavlov, minister of transport, was born in the village of Rashkovo, Region of Sofia, on January 10, 1949. He holds a university degree in rail transport operation engineering. He is member of the BCP. He has worked at the railway administration in Varna. First deputy director general of the Bulgarian State Railways (BDZ) Corporation since 1985, and later on director general of the BDZ Company. President of the International Railway Union since 1988.

Mr. Stefan Iliev Stoilov, minister without portfolio in charge of the economic reform, was born in Burgas on November 10, 1928. He graduated in political economy from the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics in 1951. He has worked at the Ministry of National Education and, since 1959, at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics. Between 1967 and 1971 he worked at the CMEA Secretariat in Moscow. Between 1971 and 1973 he worked at the Institute of Socialist Economic Integration with the Council of Ministers. Deputy director of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics. Senior research associate, first class.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks Continue

LD0902144190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] The first part of the second round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory has ended in Moscow today. The talks will be continued at the expert level. The meeting of the two delegations brought the two sides closer together on certain points. The Soviet side announced its readiness to pull out its troops from our territory. In the course of the talks, the participants discussed the possibility of withdrawing a substantial number of combat units by the end of May according to an agreed specification. The two sides agreed that the completion of this step is realistic.

Ready To Begin 'This Month'

LD0902192290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Our first item—one of exceptional importance—is from Moscow where the first part of the second round of talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory ended today. Petr Voldan reports:

[Voldan in Czech] The joint report on the talks with which our Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky has acquainted us says that the delegations decided to continue, without interrupting the talks, at the expert level, while leaving the option to convene a plenary session at any time on the proposal of one of the concerned parties.

Deputy Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek said in an interview that the delegation evaluated the talks positively. Although the talks were complicated, the responsible preparation and the constructive attitude of both sides could be felt. When asked about the prospects of the talks, Evgen Vacek said:

[Begin Vacek recording in Czech] We agreed that, with regard to the good and constructive course of the talks, we shall not end the second round of the Moscow talks but that we shall press on. We agreed that the talks of the two groups of experts, legal experts and military experts, the representatives of the two ministries of national defense, and naturally other relevant representatives from the two countries would continue intensively. I think it can be said without going too far that it is not only in the interest of both sides but that both sides will succeed in soon achieving complete agreement about a final deadline for the full and speedy withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

The Soviet side confirmed and clearly underscored that it will completely withdraw its military troops from Czechoslovakia—that is, that no Soviet military unit of those which are currently there will remain in Czechoslovakia. This is the first thing. The second important thing is that the withdrawal of combat troops of the Soviet Army from Czechoslovakia will start in the nearest future with the aim being that by the end of May the substantial, and I emphasize the substantial, part of these combat units will be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia. We see this as a very important result of this still unfinished round of talks. Speaking frankly, there is one thing which remains to be done: to agree on the final date of a complete and speedy departure of the Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. [end recording]

[Voldan] We can also hear the view of the head of the Soviet delegation, Ivan Aboimov, about the withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovakia. The Soviet deputy foreign minister said, among other things, when evaluating the talks:

[Begin Aboimov recording in Russian fading to Czech translation] The Czechoslovak delegation rightly argued that the Czechoslovak public is interested in learning as soon as possible when and how the Soviet troops will be withdrawn. The essential factor, which in my view also shows the wish of the Soviet side not only to assess this issue but also to tackle it constructively, is our statement that without waiting for the signing of the documents—as the deadline for the signing of the documents has not yet been set—the Soviet side has shown readiness to begin the withdrawal of the troops this month. I would like to say this to the Czechoslovak public personally, as I know that it gives much importance to our talks and pays great attention to this issue. [end recording]

[Voldan] As is obvious from the words of the heads of the two delegations, Evgen Vacek and Ivan Aboimov, the difficult talks about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory have borne first fruit, though we must wait further for the final solution of the problem.

Dienstbier Stresses 'Humanitarian' Aspect

LD0902193590 Prague CTK in English 1708 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier dealt here Friday at a news conference with the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

He said that the talks of the government delegations of experts ended in Moscow today without any result and a part of the Czechoslovak delegation returned home at noon. "The most important prerequisites for an agreement are in substance the internal, social issues of the Soviet side," Jiri Dienstbier said. The humanitarian aspects could also be mentioned in this connection, as the Soviet Union has no accomodation for both its soldiers coming from Czechoslovakia, and the officers and their families as well. That was why the Soviet delegation insisted that the withdrawal should not be finished by the end of 1990, according to Czechoslovakia's proposal. It is obvious that the withdrawal is not prevented by either strategic or political questions, as the Soviet Union has expressed its will to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia. They are the humanitarian

and social questions which remain open, the Czechoslovak foreign minister underlined.

Vacek: 'Should Leave' by End of Year

LD0902222590 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Soviet units should leave Czechoslovakia and are capable of doing so by the end of this year, Czechoslovak Defence Minister General-Colonel Miroslav Vacek told a press conference here today.

He added that questions regarding the families of the Soviet soldiers and expected complications during transport are currently discussed by the foreign ministry.

Minister Vacek also said the government had accepted his suggestion that military parades should not be held in Prague and Bratislava this year.

Answering a question concerning military airports, the minister said that the complaints of citizens living nearby were justified, and the air force was trying to limit air traffic.

Agreement on Ties Signed With Israel's Arens

Havel, Arens Survey Effort

LD0902223190 Prague CTK in English 1924 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here Friday visiting Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

The Israeli minister said that the people in Israel watch the historic events in Czechoslovakia with great sympathies and admiration. They appreciate that this transition is accompanied by the resolution to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. He expressed hope that it will not be only a formal diplomatic contact, but a close friendly tie. Moshe Arens handed over to Vaclav Havel a personal invitation of Israeli President Hayim Herzog to visit Israel.

Vaclav Havel recalled his new year's speech in which he mentioned the establishment of Czechoslovak-Israeli diplomatic relations. "This was not only because we, as a newly-formed democracy, sympathize with Israeli democracy, but also for other reasons", Vaclav Havel said, adding "There are two main reasons: The historical relations of our nations to the Jewish community, especially in Prague, and the second one is the peaceful character of our revolution we would like to preserve also in the foreign policy which should be imbued with the spirit of tolerance and ecumenism."

Moshe Arens devoted special attention to the support provided by the first Czechoslovak President Tomas Garrigue Masaryk to Israel and the assistance Israel obtained from Czechoslovakia in the first years of its existence. "We have not talked to each other for twenty two years and now there are many questions we want to and can discuss", Moshe Arens said.

The two representatives spoke about the role Czechoslovakia could play as a mediator in the talks on peace in the Middle East. Moshe Arens said that the Israeli people are grateful and praise the interest and care Czechoslovakia expresses in the matter of peace in this region.

Arens Gives News Conference

LD0902195590 Prague CTK in English 1800 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Visiting Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens denied at a news conference here Friday that his talks in Prague concern inter alia Czechoslovak arms supplies to Israel.

He also said that his talks with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier did not deal with Czechoslovakia's potential role as a mediator in the settlement of the Middle East conflict. He said in this connection that Israel is ready to negotiate with those Palestinian representatives who will be elected in free elections, not with terrorists striving to destroy the Israeli state. The Israeli minister pointed out that 700,000 Palestinian Arabs, who have the right to take part in the elections and have their representation in the parliament, have been living in Israel. He confirmed he did not meet the Palestinian ambassador during his visit to Prague. The Israeli minister also denied speculations that the Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union and other East European countries will have to settle on Palestinian territory controlled by Israel.

Answering the question of whether the establishment of Czechoslovak-Israeli relations will not make Czechoslovakia's contacts with Arab countries more complicated and if the Arab states do not threaten with retaliatory measures, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that the Palestinian ambassador to Czehoslovakia has expressed the opinion that Czechoslovak-Israeli relations could contribute positively to a solution of the situation in the Middle East. "No Arab state has threatened with revenge", he stressed.

Israeli Media Cited

LD1102115590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] All Israeli mass media paid great attention to the signing of the protocol on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel.

Israeli state radio announced that President Vaclav Havel had rejected Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens's proposal for Czechoslovakia to take part in a direct air lift of Soviet Jews to Israel. He gave several reasons for this, including insufficient Czechoslovak air

transport capacity and difficulty in ensuring emigrants' security on our territory because of the disrupted state of the Czechoslovak police.

Israeli television also broadcast an interview with Vaclav Havel on Soviet troop withdrawal from Czechoslovakia, on our country's stance regarding the plans for a reunification of Germany, as well as his view on future relations between Israel and Czechoslovakia.

Dienstbier-Arens Press Conference

LD0902204990 Prague CTK in English 1632 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Israeli counterpart Moshe Arens signed here today a protocol on the renewal of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

At a news conference with Czechoslovak and foreign journalist that followed the signing of the procotol, Jiri Dienstbier said that the two countries can follow up their good relations afer World War II when Czechoslovakia was one of the countries that actively supported the establishment of an Israeli state.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister stressed the necessity to prepare a legal infra-structure for the development of cooperation, for instance a law on the protection of investments and a consular agreement. He voiced the conviction that there are no obstacles on the road toward the development of relations between the two countries.

Moshe Arens said that it is a honour for him to sign the agreement on renewing diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel.

Czechoslovakia was one of the few countries that supported Israel in 1947 in the struggle against Palestinians. Israel regretted that the initial good relations have changed into hostile ones and that they were interrupted. Israel watches with great attention the Czechoslovak development from the totalitarian system towards democracy, the part of which is the renewal of relations with it, Moshe Arens said.

In the afternoon, the Israeli foreign minister visited Terezin, a town that was changed into a concentration camp for Jews from the whole of Europe before their transport to extermination camps during World War II. A total of 140,000 people passed through it, 34,000 of whom died. Moshe Arens laid a wreath at the Jewish cemetery there.

After his return to Prague, the Israeli minister visited the Jewish quarter, where he paid homage to Rabbi Loew, the legendary mayor Mordechai Maisl and to all the deceased there.

Visit Ends; Communique Issued

LD1002221590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Moshe Arens, Israeli foreign affairs minister, ended today his official visit to Czechoslovakia, which was at the invitation of Jiri Dienstbier, minister of foreign affairs.

A joint communique was issued at the end of the visit. It says, among other things, that besides signing a protocol on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Czechoslovakia and Israel, Jiri Dienstbier and Moshe Arens also discussed the total normalization of Czechoslovak-Israeli relations. They expressed their countries' interest in developing mutual cooperation in the fields of economics, policy, culture, education, science, health care, agriculture, tourism, sport, and other spheres. In this context, they pointed out a need for a gradual forming of an appropriate contractual basis. They agreed that both sides will shortly begin talks on legal aid, a consular agreement, an air traffic agreement, a cultural agreement, and other matters.

Dienstbier: Arab Reaction to Ties

LD0902221790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens continued his visit to our country. His stay culminated in the signing of a protocol reestablishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. Following this act, Jiri Dienstbier and Moshe Arens gave a news conference for local and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

Jiri Dienstbier answered, among other questions, whether the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel will make Czechoslovak relations with the Arab countries more complicated and whether there is a danger of retaliatory measures. You can listen to his answer in full:

[Begin recording] [Dienstbier, in Czech] Of course, some Arab states expressed certain alarm. None of them has so far threatened retaliatory measures. As you know, the Palestinian ambassador in Prague even said renewal of diplomatic relations by Czechoslovakia could possibly benefit the Palestinian cause as well.

Besides, in the framework of our universal policy, President Havel invited Yasir 'Arafat to visit Czechoslovakia, and I invited Mr. Qaddumi. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Havel on USSR, Germany, Relations With Israel

TA1002211090 Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Yig'al Rom; in the presidential palace in Prague, date not given—Rom's questions in Hebrew, translated by correspondent Tatiana Hoffman into Czech, and

Havel's responses in Czech translated into Hebrew in subtitles; recorded, broadcast in progress]

[Text] [Havel] It seems to me that this was a historical necessity, and I believe that had it happened earlier, the Soviet leadership would have spared itself a lot of problems with which it must now contend at home.

[Rom] One thing the CSSR currently hopes to achieve is for the Soviet Union to withdraw its forces from here, and also to remove its units from all the Eastern bloc countries. What is your view of the chances of this withdrawal being attained within a reasonable period of time and yet as quickly as possible?

[Havel] We are currently in the process of negotiations, and we will continue to negotiate. We intend to travel to the United States and later probably also to Moscow. I have some thoughts about the matter. The only certain thing is that political stability in Central Europe and in Czechoslovakia require that this be done quickly. Those who are interested in such stability must understand this.

[Rom] What do you think about the unification of Germany?

[Havel] I think that it depends on the German people, on whether or not they want to live as a single political entity. I believe that in the reunification process it is necessary to implement the famous German love of orderliness but not in too wild a fashion. Additionally, it should somehow be done within the framework of the overall European process. It must be done through cooperation with other countries and against the backdrop of the trust they will instill among other nations. I wish that they become a unified state, if that is want they want, and they have a right to wish for that. They must, however, attain this in an orderly fashion.

[Rom] The final question regards you yourself: As an intellectual who currently heads your country's political system, what is your view of the intellectual's role and what can an intellectual contribute to such a system? Can you, perhaps, give it a jolt and bring it back to life, something regular politicians cannot do?

[Havel] I have a feeling that the time has come for more intellectuals to assume political responsibility. As to why this is so, I cannot tell you in the short time at our disposal. The fact is that after prolonged objection and a lot of thinking, I finally took this job. This happened, among other things, because of that feeling.

[Rom] One more word before we end this, or perhaps before you would like to present a question. This one has to do with the future of ties with Israel. What are your hopes? What would you wish for Israel and the CSSR?

[Havel] I discussed this with Mr. Arens, and before that with Mr. Peres. We would like to have truly authentic relations, not only formal diplomatic ties. This stems from a variety of reasons, one of which is the traditional link between the Jewish people and our land. For many centuries, the Jewish, Czechoslovak, and German cultures here intermingled, creating a specially unique culture, particularly in Prague. At one time the Jews saw their community in Prague as their mother. We must go back to this tradition. Besides, this is also in our interest. Naturally, this is only one aspect of the issue, and there are other reasons that make us want real friendship.

[Rom] On my behalf and on behalf of Israel Television, we hope to see you in Israel soon.

[Havel] We will see each other.

[Rom] Thank you.

Ambassador: PLO Ready To Negotiate With Israel

LD0902211990 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Palestinian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Samih 'Abd al-Fattah said today that the Palestine Liberation Organization is ready to hold talks with the Israeli Government with the aim to remove obstacles hindering the peace process and an international Middle East conference.

In a statement Al-Fattah gave CTK, regarding today's press conference of Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, the Palestinian ambassador said that in spite of the negative attitudes expressed by Minister Arens, the PLO will carry on its efforts and its peace initiative to achieve a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian Issue, while proceeding from the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council.

Samih "Abd al-Fattah said that the PLO had welcomed President Vaclav Havel's readiness to contribute towards a settlement of the Middle East crisis, declared at a press conference on January 29.

Hromadka in Israel, Comments on Arms Exports

LD0902205290 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Jerusalem Feb 9 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Josef Hromadka has said during his visit to Jerusalem that Czechoslovakia transfers its military industry into civilian production, Israeli radio has said.

The radio quoted his statement that Czechoslovakia intends to halt stage by stage its exports of arms, interpreting it as halting the exports of arms into Arab states.

It also announced that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel will probably visit Israel in April.

The Czechoslovak representative, who is on a five-day visit to Israel, was also received by Israeli Premier Yitzhaq Shamir.

Dienstbier Leaves for Talks in Paris, Ottawa

LD1002022990 Prague CTK in English 1753 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Fed 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier left here today for Paris to attend a colloquy "Democratic Revolution in the East—Promises and Risks", organized by Chairman of the French National Assembly Laurent Fabius.

From Paris, the Czechoslovak minister will leave for Ottawa, Canada, to attend the opening ceremony of the inter-national conference of 23 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Treaty member states, the "open sky".

The Czechoslovak delegation, headed by Jiri Dienstbier, will make use of the presence of the foreign ministers of the states participating in the conference for bilateral talks.

In the framework of his stay on the American continent, Jiri Dienstbier will address a session of the council for International Relations in New York.

Favors Neutral Germany in Paris Talks

LD1002233990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] France: The colloquium entitled "The Democratic Revolution in the East—Promises and Risks," in Paris was addressed today by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, who spoke in favor of the gradual involvement of our country in the European integration process. Czechoslovakia, together with the European Community, he said, is studying possibilities for setting up a European economic area which would be a specific transitional stage toward subsequent all-European integration.

On the issue of the reunification of the two German states, the Czechoslovak minister stated that this could no longer be halted by democratic methods. The best path, he said, would be a future Germany that was neutral.

Jiri Dienstbier was also received today by French Premier Michel Rocard. They discussed possibilities for the future involvement of Czechoslovakia in European groupings, and Czechoslovak-French relations. They also discussed preparations for official visits to France by Vaclav Havel and Marian Calfa.

Jiri Dienstbier also had a meeting with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

Discusses 'Open Sky' Regime

LD1102205390 Prague CTK in English 1935 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa Feb 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier arrived in Canada today to attend a conference of 23 NATO and Warsaw countries on forming an 'open sky' regime, starting here Monday.

The initial part of the conference will be attended by the foreign ministers and the latter part lasting till February 28 by experts.

Shortly upon arrival Minister Dienstbier met with leaders of delegations from the Warsaw Treaty countries and then attended a dinner for all ministers.

The idea of an "open sky" was raised in 1956 under U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower's government and presented again by President George Bush on May 12 last year.

The conference is expected to work out significant steps to strengthen confidence between member states of the two main blocs, concerning in praticular reciprocal flights of unarmed reconnaissance planes.

Defense Minister Interviewed on Military Issues

LD0902222390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek, the minister of national defense, gave a press conference this afternoon in the building of the federal government Presidium in Prague. Since we are more interested now than ever before in the Army and everything connected with it, I asked [correspondent] Vaclev Valek for more details:

[Valek] Newsmen were told, for example, about the rehabilitations now under way in the Army, and that from 1 April, military counterintelligence, which has hitherto been directed by the Ministry of the Interior, will be transferred to the Ministry of National Defense as the military defense intelligence [vojenske obranne zpravodajstvi].

We were also told that training for the Spartakiad [mass physical training festival] has been completely abolished, and that this year something like 90,000 reservists will not be called up for exercises—this should amount to savings for our economy of about two million korunas.

The minister of national defense said that at present, only the strongest states, that is to say strongest in the economic sense, could afford any army made up solely of professionals, because this costs four to six times more. The purchase of very expensive MiG-29 fighter aircraft is to be cut back considerably, but we will continue to buy our military hardware from the Soviet Union.

Most of our listeners are probably interested in matters related to the formulation of the new Defense Act, and the possibility of alternative military service. On this, Colonel-General Miroslav Vacek, the minister of national defense, had this to say:

[Begin Vacek recording] Who can request civilian service? This can be requested by any citizen of our republic whose religious or moral convictions—this is the actual

wording—prevents him from carrying out basic military service. The facts associated with these reasons will be assessed by a commission made up of, in addition to the military, representatives of civilian organizations, institutions, national committees, and other agencies, which will assess how far the demand is warranted. [end recording]

Pavlicek Holds Briefing on Importance of Radio

LD1002031790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Frantisek Pavlicek, Czechoslovak Radio director general, introduced himself to journalists at a news conference today.

At the same time Karel Weinlich, spokesman of the Civil Forum in Czechoslovak Radio, explained reasons that led to the recalling of Karel Stary from this post. Though his opposition attitude toward the radio's former senior staff has been well-known, he was unable to react correctly or in time to a number of conflicts due to his many years abroad. [as heard]

The Czechoslovak Radio's new director general began his career as a theater producer in Ceske Budjovice. He later worked in the Barandov Film Studios and as a director of the na vinohradech theater. He has been active in the dissidents' circle for the last 20 years.

At today's news conference he said, among other things, that he will strive to return the prestige to radio and make radio a cultural phenomenon as well as a reporting phenomenon. He continued:

[Begin Pavlicek recording] If we are going to satisfy the demands of all political parties, the political and other initiatives, it would mean in practice a disruption of radio programs. We counted and found it would mean almost ten hours taken out of spoken word programs per week. Czech Radio broadcasts are already overburdened by spoken word programs in some programming blocs. [passage omitted]

We want to say what we so far consider to be incontestable: We want to devote a lot of time if possible to the Civic Forum [broadcast], and to use it well. Regarding other things, we have to gain clarification from other institutions, either on the level of the federal assembly or the government's institutions.

For example, we are going to defend ourselves against being the government's spokesman; we would like to be above the parties and above the power or influence of the executive authorities. [end recording]

Interior Minister Says 'No Danger' of Coup

LD1002021890 Prague Television Service in Czech 2100 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Interview with Interior Minister Richard Sacher by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given; live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer) A visit by Richard Sacher, federal interior minister, to Bratislava began yesterday evening [8 February]. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] What is your assessment of how your order regarding the abolishment of the state security forces is being complied with?

[Sacher]I think the order was fulfilled. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Our viewers phone us their questions and they would be interested in your view, as federal interior minister, if there is a danger of coup d'etat, political takeover, these days.

[Sacher] I would like to say there is really no danger of such a coup d'etat. We disarmed this force [former state security forces] and asked citizens to surrender weapons. This process of surrendering weapons has already significantly progressed. The weapons still need to be surrendered by those citizens who were ill, on vacation, or were outside of Czechoslovakia. There is no danger of a coup d'etat.

Deputy Minister on Past, Future of Secret Police

AU1102143390 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[Jan Subert report: "In the Counterintelligence Headquarters; We Have Visited the Most Secret Component of the State Security Corps"]

[Excerpts] Monday, 5 February, Thakur Street in Prague—Dejvice. It is 0950 and a group of journalists is waiting at the entrance to an extensive complex of buildings that has until recently housed the national office of Czechoslovak counterintelligence. At 1000 sharp, an inconspicuous Lada comes to a halt before the entrance. R. Sacher, the federal interior minister, jumps out and invites us in a friendly way to come in. [passage omitted]

The minister is accompanied by his deputy, Col. Jaroslav Prochazka, who had to leave the counterintelligence in 1970 in the wake of the "normalization" screenings. Today he is in charge, among other things, of its liquidation. He willingly replies to our questions.

"A total of 618 people used to work in the head office; today 35 persons remain in order to ensure the maintenance of the buildings. The whole State Security Corps [StB], which also included the Passport and Visa Administration, had around 18,000 members, of whom about 6,000 worked for counterintelligence. They have all been disarmed. The regional and district offices are now in the

same condition as the headquarters. As regards technological equipment, the computers were from East European manufacturers, i.e. not outstanding. The situation with regard to real intelligence technology was better, but even here we did not avail ourselves of top-of-the-line technology that is available to similar services in advanced Western countries."

Asked for a comparison [of the StB] with the Romanian Securitate, the deputy minister explained: "The Romanian state secret police was organized as a repressive body; popularly speaking, we could compare it to one huge unit of the Red Berets. In the StB, the repressive segments were not represented as heavily. Nonetheless, the specific conduct and actions of individual members of these groups will be subject to investigation and case-by-case assessment."

Col. Prochazka, who also takes part in the formation of a new establishment for the security of the state—the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy—also spoke about the future—about the fate of former StB members, and about guarantees that similar secret security services will never be misused again. He told us, inter alia:

"All former StB members, from the head office down to the regions and districts, will undergo scrutiny. Next to the new chiefs, civilian representatives will be involved in the work of these commissions. Moreover, we will probably not be able to employ in the new service many of those who are able to hold their own in the screenings, because a number of nonsensical activities which used to preoccupy the counterintelligence will not be needed at all. We are creating a new concept and structure for the protection of state security. The guarantee against the theoretical possibility of misuse will dwell in the legal codification, in the inadmissibility of any links between the new services and political parties, and, last but not least, in the selection of democratically minded people. The cases of a great many StB informers from the ranks of the public will be tackled once the new office is consolidated."

According to the last piece of information which we received, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy will be set up on 16 February 1990 by an order of the federal minister of interior. While counterintelligence used to employ thousands of StB members, the size of the staff of the new office will be in the range of hundreds, with emphasis on great expertise. [passage omitted]

Majority of Intelligence Officers for Change

LD0802205890 Prague CTK in English 1459 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak counterintelligence officer said today that the majority of officers welcomed and supported the events that followed November 17 otherwise the process of changes could not have taken place so quickly and relatively smoothly.

Speaking to foreign journalists who were able to inspect the building of the counter-intelligence service today, just as their Czechoslovak colleagues did on Monday, Lieutenant-Colonel Pavel Marvanek, in charge of the command of the building, said it had been clear to the majority of intelligence officers that the situation in Czechoslovakia lasting for several years was no longer tolerable. That is why he believed the majority of the officers supported the changes.

The building now houses the military counter-intelligence which was transferred under the control of the federal defence ministry, Pavel Marvanek said.

Havel Makes State Defense Council Appointments

LD0902222490 Prague CTK in English 1805 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel has recalled Ladislav Adamec, Karel Urbanek, Ignac Janak, Jaromir Zak, Francisek Pinc and Rudolf Hegenbart from the posts of members of the State Defence Council.

He named Marian Calfa chairman of the Council, Valtr Komarek deputy chairman and Vladimir Dlouhy, Petr Pithart, Milan Cic, Jiri Dienstbier, Richard Sacher and Jiri Krizan members of the Council. Miroslav Vacek continues to be its member.

Plzen Citizens Demand Military Airport Closure

LD1102190890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Several thousands of Plzen citizens today demanded the abolition of the military airport Plzen-Bory and the airport in Line, because airport noise is making a normal life impossible for citizens.

Questions were answered by an air unit commander, despite the fact that offensive shouting from the crowd prevented him from finishing his opening address. Only after passions had cooled down did citizens learn that a possible transfer of some air units is currently being discussed and that last year the flight height of helicopters was increased from 200 to 300 meters.

Soldiers cooperated with the demonstration's organizers and provided sound equipment for the meeting and served hot tea for children.

Federal Assembly Committee Chairs Appointed

AU1002185190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Feb 90 p 4

["(NIG)"-signed report: "Communists in Parliament"]

[Excerpt] At Tuesday's [30 January] discussions in the Federal Assembly (in separate and in joint meetings of the chambers) parliament underwent significant changes. These changes also involved Communist deputies.

In the near future Engineer Jana Moltasova, a scientific employee at the Rez Nuclear Research Institute, will become deputy chairwoman of the Chamber of People. The following people will act as chairmen of individual committees: Dr. Zdenek Masopust PhD, (Chamber of People Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee); Engineer Alexander Sommer (Chamber of People Committee for Agriculture and Food); Professor Dr. Eduard Vlcek (Chamber of Nations Foreign Affairs Committee); Engineer Josef Csemi (Chamber of Nations Planning and Budget Committee); and Irena Horecna (Chamber of Nations Social Affairs Committee). [passage omitted]

CPCZ Executive Body Plans Upcoming Session

LD1002234790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee today in Prague discussed the agenda for the forthcoming session of the party Central Committee. Above all, it is to unite on the principles of the renewal of the Czechoslovak Communist Party; it will evaluate the Party's election program; and it will decide on the preparation for the founding Congress of the Republic Party Organization of Bohemia and Moravia. It will also discuss the report on the political responsibility for the crisis in the Communist Party and society.

Discusses Electoral Law

AU0902122990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jan 90 p 2

["Point of View on the Electoral Law"]

[Text] At its 27 January session, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Executive Committee discussed the main principles of the law under preparation on elections to the Federal Assembly and adopted the following point of view:

In harmony with the CPCZ Action Program, approved by the extraordinary party congress in December 1989, we are in favor of the following:

1. Free and democratic elections conducted by secret ballot on the basis of general, equal, and direct suffrage.
2. Candidates for deputies' seats being proposed exclusively by parties or political movements.
3. The implementation of a system of proportional representation. This will provide a guarantee that the composition of the Federal Assembly will, in principle, correspond to the distribution of political forces in society.
4. The preelection campaign being conducted according to democratic means, within a framework of decency, while adhering to honorable rules which we propose to establish at the roundtable by an appropriate agreement.
5. Each party finances its own preelection campaign. We consider the financing of elections by state budgetary organizations state enterprises, and by foreign states or individuals and organizations to be unsuitable. All financial and material resources belonging to parties and movements should be subject to public control and should be utilized under conditions laid down by the special law on managing political parties' economic affairs.

Examines 1948 Takeover

AU0902162090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

["Statement by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee on February 1948"]

[Text] This year the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] will recall the February events of 1948 under completely changed social conditions, created by the revolutionary tide of broad sections of our people.

In the name of hundreds of thousands of upright Communists, the CPCZ has already condemned the undemocratic system of one-party rule, which ultimately resulted in the power monopoly of a narrow group of party and state bureaucrats, in manipulation of the people, through corruption and the abuse of office.

Creating for the future a reliably functioning political system guaranteeing all individual rights, freedom of opinion, and political pluralism will not be easy, either for us or for our partners.

In the quest for its new identity, the party will have to part ways with a number of schemes and views which are detached from life. We will also have to ponder anew our own history. It is only from its truthful presentation and understanding that we will be able to draw genuine lessons for our present and future policy.

In this connection we want to stress that the February events in Czechoslovakia 42 years ago were an integral part of the complex postwar developments in Europe. After a short period of mutual cooperation between the victorious powers of the anti-Hitler coalition when Czechoslovakia was able to act as a true bridge between the East and the West, a hardline policy of confrontation won the upper hand in international relations.

With the Soviet Union's direct assistance, people's democratic revolutions were carried out in individual countries of East Europe and revolutionary, radical parties came to power. It was only in postwar Czechoslovakia that the CPCZ managed to win almost 40 percent of the vote in the free and democratic elections of 1946 and its chairman, Klement Gottwald, became head of government. It was precisely on this fact that the CPCZ based

its entire strategy and tactics; in the internationally-conditioned context, the CPCZ was developing the revolutionary process predominantly by political means.

Under the specific Czechoslovak conditions, the Communist Party even made an attempt at its own national approach to the socialist revolution, whose time-conditioned contents were seizing political power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was, of course, a politically-motivated struggle for power, which continued in the course of the year 1947 when the international situation rapidly deteriorated and any deviation from the sole, Soviet model of socialist revolution was actually rendered impossible. In its consequences, this strengthened the Stalinist concept of socialism, which found its expression also in the creation of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers Parties in September 1947 and its entire subsequent policy.

In spite of all these ideological problems and international political connections, the Czechoslovak February of 1948 appeared as the culmination of the political struggle for power. The then CPCZ leadership managed to win over the great majority of the working people, workers, farmers, small businessmen, artists, scientists, teachers, other members of the intelligentsia, and young people to its side. We are convinced that, with a few exceptions, they all were concerned primarily about social progress and sincerely endeavored to build in Czechoslovakia socialism as a historically more equitable and freer society than the one in which they had been living.

However, it is precisely in this connection that we want to dissociate ourselves as vigorously as possible from the undemocratic strengthening of the Stalinist model of socialism after February 1948, and from all subsequent deformations caused by the power monopoly of a single party.

On the basis of bitter lessons from the past and in line with the wishes of the absolute majority of party members—who, in fact, did not experience February 1948—we would like to take part in the creation of a truly democratic, pluralistic, and socially equitable society in our homeland. This conclusion was also arrived at by the extraordinary CPCZ congress held near the end of last year.

Committee Decisions Noted

LD1002235790 Prague CTK in English 1436 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 10 (CTK)—The Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] met here today to discuss preparations for the party Central Committee session scheduled for February 17.

The Central Committee session will discuss the party's election program and a report of a Central Committee commission examining the political responsibility for the crisis in the party and society.

The executive committee expressed concern over the fact that political tension in society is not abating in spite of a range of important democratization measures, and in this context condemned discrimination against Communists in society and in the sphere of jobs. Participants in the session stressed the need to strengthen Communist Party efforts aimed at the observance of principles of a state based on the rule of law.

The Executive Committee approved the calling of district party conferences in March and recommended the convening of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia in Prague on March 31, 1990.

Conference Features Split in Democratic Forum

LD1002234390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] The national conference of the Democratic Forum of Communists which took place in Brno featured a split in the movement. One part decided to form a new left-wing political party: the Czechoslovak Democatic Forum. The other part continues as political activists within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which is also active outside the party, organizing Communists and those with similar views.

Further Details Provided on CPCZ Assets

AU0902155890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK and "ZR"-signed report: "Apropos the CPCZ's Property"]

[Text] Prague—On 1 February CTK published a memorandum "On the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's [CPCZ] Moral Obligation to Place its Property at the Disposal of Citizens." Among other things, the memorandum states—according to its figures—that the state contributed roughly 70 million Czechoslovak korunas [Kcs] per annum from the Federation's budget to the party's political activity. On average, the state provided the CPCZ with approximately Kcs300 million per annum, in the form of reimbursements, for its capital investment. Today the Communist Party has fixed assets valued at Kcs1,457,773,000.

The CPCZ press service issued the following supplement to these figures on Friday [2 February]: "The Czechoslovak State indeed provided the CPCZ with roughly Kcs300 million per annum for capital investment. However, CTK did not provide an important detail that, on the basis of a mutual agreement reached in 1971 between the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak State, financial resources were intentionally provided to each CPCZ secretariat separately, compensating for some of the resources. A financial evaluation of each building was

carried out. Representatives from the CPCZ, the Czechoslovak State Bank, and the Ministry of Finance participated in it. On the basis of this document, the building was handed over free of charge to the property of the Czechoslovak State."

Free Peasant Party To Operate Nationally

AU1002210090 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column]

[Text] On 3 February in Prague, representatives of the Free Peasant Party [Slobodna rolnicka strana] reached an agreement with representatives from Slovakia about the operation of the Free Peasant Party throughout the Czechoslovak state. A joint preparatory committee was set up as well as a preparatory committee for Slovakia. Its representative is Engineer Michal Kopcik, Kyjov 24, Stara Lubovna.

Delegates Organize Czechoslovak Peace Union

AU1002154290 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jan 90 p 2

[Martin Krno report: "New Tasks, New Forms; Czechoslovak Peace Union Set Up"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—The constituent meeting of the Czechoslovak Peace Council in the Metal Workers' House of Culture in Prague on Saturday [27 January] took place in a turbulent atmosphere, especially at the beginning. The representatives of peace councils from Slovakia and also some representatives from the Czech Socialist Republic criticized the submitted proposal for a centrally controlled peace movement. [passage omitted] Finally, following mutual agreement, a compromise was reached. [passage omitted] The delegates agreed that the movement should be called the Czechoslovak Peace Union [Ceskoslovenska Mierova Unia], which better corresponds to its open nature. The meeting heard a letter addressed to it by the Jewish Religious Community in Prague, which expressed serious concern for the revival of neo-Ludakism, particularly at the distorted picture being presented of the solution of the so-called Jewish question during the clerico-fascist regime in Slovakia.

The delegates approved provisional organizational rules and provisional rules of procedure for the Czechoslovak Peace Union as well as a programmatic statement. The main tasks of the union, it is stressed in the statement, include support for a substantial cut in the CSSR Armed Forces, for the accelerated departure of Soviet troops from our territory, for the abolition of the presence of foreign military forces in Europe and all over the world, and for the disbandment of military alliances, particularly NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The Czechoslovak Peace Union will seek the humanization of the conditions of basic military service, the legalization of alternative civilian service for conscientious objectors, a ban on the production and sale of toys with military themes, the elimination of pre-military education from schools, the consistent respect for civil and human rights, and so forth.

The meeting elected a nine-member Coordinating Committee of the Czechoslovak Peace Union. Josef Krejci became its acting deputy chairman.

Czech Premier Interviewed on Bratislava Talks

LD0902213190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The topic of today's discussions in Bratislava between the Czech and Slovak premiers, Petr Pithart and Milan Cic, was relations between the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. After their meeting, the Czech premier was interviewed by editor Suzana Stukovska:

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] Mr. Premier Pithart, you mentioned at the meeting today that this is in fact your first foreign visit so to speak. I was interested to find out how you see the prospects for cooperation between the governments of the two republics. So far, there have been contacts, but, in your view, how can this cooperation be intensified?

[Pithart] I am glad to be able to tell you that everyone I met today praised my first thought—that is, that my first trip outside the Czech Republic must be to Slovakia. I think that there are considerable reserves on both sides. I did not come to deliver some fundamental addresses. I came to listen to my colleagues in Slovakia, to see the prospects for our mutual relations in all their complexity—which we do not conceal and which we think will be simplified within a few weeks.

Premier Cic and I agreed a while ago that we will carry out regular consultations alternatively in the two republics. We must start talking about matters which bother us and which often remained below the official surface. You know, just as I do, that the relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks are not free of problems, and we would be glad if we could ventilate all of this if possible and give things names, find out what is involved, point out the prejudices and biases, the traditional mutual reservations and mistrusts. Simply, we want to open the broadest possible space to all this and that is why we need service contacts, we need time, and we need to talk about these complicated social and psychological problems in the relations between our peoples. [end recording]

Czech National Council Appointments Published

AU0802164690

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 February on pages 1 and 2 carries a 500-word correspondents' report on the Czech National Council [CNR] and CNR Presidium sessions held on 6 February. The report mentions the appointments of the new first deputy

premiers of the Czech Socialist Republic, Frantisek Vlasak and Antonin Hrazdira; of the new minister-chairwoman of the Czech Socialist Republic People's Control Committee, Jitka Zetkova; and of the new chairman of the Supreme Court of the Czech Socialist Republic, Antonin Mokry. The RUDE PRAVO report notes that two of the three newly elected CNR deputy chairmen, Miroslav Slouf and Michal Kraus, are members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], while the third, Jaroslava Moserova, is without party affiliation. It notes that Josef Kana from the Czechoslovak People's Party has retained his position and is the fourth CNR deputy chairman.

The RUDE PRAVO report also provides the names of the three newly elected CNR deputies representing the CPCZ: Frantisek Adamek, Vitezslav Jurasek, and Rostislav Hakl.

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 7 February on pages 1 and 4 carries a 500-word "mat"-signed report on the same CNR session, which provides the names of the seven newly elected CNR deputies on behalf of the Czechoslovak People's Party: Ivana Janu, Jiri Karas, Jan Kasal, Josef Krejci, Josef Pavela, Jiri Rubin, and Josef Sedivy. The LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE report also mentions that the newly elected CNR Presidium has 27 members, four of whom are members of the Czechoslovak People's Party, four members of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, eight members of the CPCZ, and 11 without political affiliation.

Correction on Czech Council Deputy Chairmen

WA09021939

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Czech National Council Appoints New Premier," published in the 7 February East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 34, column two:

Page 35, column two, last paragraph, make read: ...new first deputy chairmen—Frantisek Vlasak, who is also chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technological Development, and Antonin Hrazdira. It also appointed Jitka Zetkova as a new.... (confirming queried names)

Slovak Government Makes Personnel Changes

AU1002192990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Feb 90 pp 1,2

[CTK report: "Extensive Cadre Changes; The Slovak Socialist Republic Government Has Held a Session"—in Bratislava on 31 January]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] In a later discussion, the Slovak Socialist Republic government made decisions on some personnel changes. It recalled Engineer Vladimir Lokvenc from his post as Slovak Socialist Republic Government plenipotentiary for the construction and operation of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project; it also proposed to the CSSR Government that the mentioned individual be recalled from his post as CSSR Government plenipotentiary for the water project. The government has proposed appointing Engineer Dominik Kocinger, Slovak Socialist Republic deputy minister of forestry, water economy, and the wood processing industry, as CSSR Government plenipotentiary for the construction and operation of the Danube water project.

The government has decided to set up a commission to oversee an inquiry into cases involving the persecution of employees at central state administration organs in Slovakia with the proviso that this organ will methodically direct the rehabilitation process for persons affected by commissions of ministries and other central state administration organs.

It also implemented changes to the leadership of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The Slovak Socialist Republic government has recalled the following people from their posts as deputy chairmen of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, effective 1 February 1990: Academicians Oldrich Benda, Vladimir Cirbes, Viliam Plevza, and Jozef Zachar. The Slovak Socialist Republic government has appointed the following people to the posts of Slovak Academy of Sciences deputy chairmen, effective 1 February 1990: Dr. Silvester Takacs, Engineer Stefan Markus, and Olga Oveckova LLD. It also recommended to the Slovak National Council Presidium that it recall Academician Ivan Hrivnak from his post as chairman of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and appoint Academician Ladislav Macha to this post. [passage omitted]

Slovak National Council Presidium Meets

LD1002032890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] At its session today in Bratislava the Slovak National Council [SNC] Presidium expressed its concern at the methods of preparation for a number of Federal Assembly laws. The Presidium believes some methods overstep the Federal Assembly's jurisdiction in many directions and interfere with the jurisdiction of national parliaments.

The SNC Presidium appointed Ladislav Macha to the office of Slovak Academy of Sciences chairman and Rudolf Krc as Slovak Statistical Office chairman.

The SNC Presidium then discussed the bill of law on elections to the SNC. This document, which will be published by the daily press, is put forward until 20 February for general discussion.

Ondrus Speaks on Personnel

LD1002033890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1315 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Speech by Slovak Deputy Premier Ondrus at Slovak National Council Presidium session in Bratislava on 8 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Presidium members, esteemed deputies,

Deputy Mr Carnogursky very precisely characterized a source of social tension in enterprises, especially in the political sphere. From this it follows that the government has in many ways restricted possibilities to intervene in managing the processes linked to this tension.

A disintegration of the power structure of the former regime has been gradual and continues only under concentrated double pressure: on the one hand stripping specific people of power by recalling them from their posts, which happens from above; and on the other hand expressing, from below, a lack of confidence in some officials and senior staff by citizens, workers, trade unionists, and youth.

In this way a personnel change became a key problem not only of the Slovak Government but also of the entire Slovak Republic, not only of central bodies but of every enterprise, factory, village, every family.

This process is inevitable. At the same time it also brings the first disillusion on the path to democracy. [passage omitted]

The Czechoslovak variant of revolutionary social changes is based on the renewal of the working of a state based on the rule of law. Nevertheless, in a transient period from totalitarian state to democracy the legal tools to tackle some social problems do not exist and the dismantling of the former system has to be accompanied by developing new attitudes, mechanisms, and tools for managing our society.

To achieve a reconstruction of representative bodies, an agreement was needed between the decisive political forces and adoption of the constitutional law on by-elections. Only in this way was the path opened toward a speedy implementation of the consequences of abolishing the constitutional guarantee of the Communist Party's leading role in our society.

The situation in the sphere of personnel changes among senior staff in the field of economy is equally complicated. Nevertheless, no agreement between political forces has so far been reached regarding a solution for this question. That is why besides justifiable changes, chaotic changes also take place. The course taken by the Slovak Government of National Accord could only have been on the level of an appeal to citizens which stressed moral values, ideals, and principles of tolerance and humanism, as was stressed in the government's 19 January statement.

The government cannot, however, allow destabilization in the field of economy or a general loss of authority of senior staff, which could lead to tragic consequences for all our citizens.

The government continues its intensive effort to tackle a number of accumulated problems. Nevertheless, to achieve its aims, the government needs from citizens a voice of confidence, patience, and understanding but needs also higher standards in our political life. It needs an agreement on the decisive political forces in Slovakia aimed at a positive national program of the path toward a democratic society.

An agreement on how to tackle these personnel changes should be included in such a program.

Thank you.

Council Adds Deputies, Hears Dubcek

LD1002110890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council, congratulated Alexander Dubcek on winning the Andrey Sakharov prize at today's meeting in Bratislava. He then informed the deputies about the joint meeting of the representatives of the Czech and Slovak National Councils, from which it ensued that the reorganization of the two bodies, which is under way, is creating prerequisites for national parliaments to become a basis for the federation's legislative power. He also spoke extensively about enhancing democracy, about the rehabilitation process of persecuted persons, and about creation and protection of the environment.

The first point on the agenda of the meeting was open ballot, in which the following were added to the Slovak National Council: 19 deputies for Public Against Vioence, eight for the Czechoslovak Communist Party, seven for the Christian-Democratic Movement, four for the Democratic Party and two for the Freedom Party. One deputy represents independent free trade unions and one is unaffiliated.

The deputies were then addressed by Aleksander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly.

Slovak Finance Minister on Party Buildings

LD0802130390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] The Presidium of the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic was in session in Bratislava today. It evaluated the proposal of action measures by all sectors, ministries, and central organs, and incorporated them in the action program of the government which will be delivered by its chairman this Friday at the session of the Slovak National Council.

As we were informed by Juraj Kralik, chief of the Chancellery of the government, the Presidium also concerned itself today with the financing of political parties, social organizations, and interest groups in the first quarter of this year as well as other questions.

Reporter Zuzana Stukovska considers one point on the agenda:

[Begin recording] [Stukovska] Interesting information was delivered at today's presidium session by Michal Kovac, minister of finance, prices and wages. It concerned the legal position concerning the use of buildings by political parties on the territory of Slovakia. What stances did the presidium of the government take on these questions, Mr. Minister?

[Kovac] First, I would like to inform you that a list of buildings used by political parties was made for the first time and we are already aware at this moment that it probably does not include all of them. But of those we have found, I can say that the total number of buildings used by the Communist Party of Slovakia [PSL] or the Czechoslovak Communist Party is 98, of which 62 are the property of the Czechoslovak state, 17 are the property of the CPSL, and the legal ownership of 19 is not settled so far.

The Presidium of the government adopted a resolution to carry out the necessary measures to abolish the use of buildings belonging to the state of Czechoslovakia which were in past years made available for administrative and other purposes to sections of the CPSL. At the same time it is necessary to secure, in the future, appropriate use by means of placement commissions.

[Stukovska] When approximately should this process be completed?

[Kovac] As far as a change in usage is concerned, we expect it to be done by the end of the month. [end recording]

Slovak Parties Protest Federal Talks Exclusion

LD0802202190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] A discriminatory political practice toward the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] and the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDPS] was discussed by representatives at their meeting in Bratislava today. They pointed out in particular that they were not allowed to take part in the meeting of key political forces in Prague yesterday where, in the presence of experts from the Federal Government, the character of the future system of local representative bodies and elections into these bodies was discussed.

Representatives of the PDS and of the SDPs were also not invited to the talks by experts of the key political parties, who discussed the questions of the new distribution of printing enterprises and newsprint.

The statement issued on today's session of representatives of the PDS and the SDPS says that the discriminatory approach against them on the federal level is puzzling because they are now properly registered political parties which take part in the talks of the key political forces at a roundtable in Slovakia.

Slovak Historians View Country's Emblem, Name

AU1002162890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Jan 90 p 1

[CTK report: "The Point of View of Slovak Historians"]

[Text] Bratislava—At yesterday's general assembly of the Slovak Historical Society in Bratislava a point of view on current problems was approved. The point of view states:

We support changing our state's name to Czecho-Slovakia [Cesko-Slovensko]. This change has historical grounds in preeminent historical documents and from the time when our joint state evolved.

We consider the split coat-of-arms—on the heraldic right side of which would be a symbol of the Czech nation and on the left side would be a symbol of the Slovak nation—to be one justified design for the state emblem of the Czecho-Slovak Federation. We do not consider it necessary to further split the coat-of-arms and we are against placing the symbol of Moravia in the federation's emblem.

We are unequivocally against establishing a federal ministry for nationalities because we are of the opinion that no organ, a ministry or any other one, can be superior to elected republican state institutions. It seems to us that this is a miscomprehension of the fundamental principle of the national republics' sovereignty. A paradoxical situation arises in this way: The Slovak nation recognizes the subjectivity of nationalities in Slovakia, but doubts are cast on its own subjectivity. As a solution we propose dealing with these problems within the framework of the national republics.

Slovak Entrepreneurs Hold Constituent Conference

AU1002154890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jan 90 p 2

[Tatiana Repkova report: "Who Will Pay for the Icebreaker?"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—The Open Association of Free Entrepreneurs of Slovakia, which has been registered since 3 January, has changed its name to the Association of the Entrepreneurs of Slovakia [Zdruzenie podnikatelov Slovenska]. This happened at the association's constituent conference in Bratislava yesterday.

Meanwhile, this social organization associating independently enterprising citizens has one partner of equal

standing—the Union of Moravian-Silesian Entrepreneurs. The present Association of Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs [Zdruzenie ceskoslovenskych podnikatelov] will mostly likely evolve into an independent Czech association. Some two months before the elections to state bodies at the latest, the three associations will elect from the ranks of their representatives a federal body with a purely coordinating function. Even now, however, they have an equal chance to participate in the drafting of new laws concerning entrepreneurial activity. [passage omitted]

Slovak Party Criticizes New Groups

LD1102212390 Prague CTK in English 1930 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava Feb 11 (CK)—The leadership of the Slovak Party of Democratic Socialism today criticized the fact that new political parties, public organizations and associations fail to respect the federative set-up in Czechoslovakia, i.e. that they do not form organizations in the republics.

This criticism applied also to political parties which so far worked within the structure of the national front.

The Party of Democratic Socialism believes that political parties and public organizations should consistently respect the observance of the sovereign rights of the Slovak National Council and the Slovak government.

Meanwhile, an assembly of supporters of the Society for Moravia and Silesia was held in Olomouc, north Moravia, today. It adopted a resolution demanding that the inhabitants of Moravia be able to decide in a referendum whether they want to form a regional entity or a tripartite federation. According to results of an opinion survey, only a negligible part of the inhabitants of Moravia and Silesia want the present state (being part of the Czech Socialist Republic) to be maintained.

The Society for Moravia and Silesia pursues an equal and just representation of more than 4 million people in the Federal Assembly, a just distribution of the national income, the setting of borders of Moravia and Silesia and legislation of Moravian and Silesian symbols. Though individual opinions differ, the fact remains that labour productivity in industry and agriculture in the two Moravian regions is higher than in Bohemia and Slovakia while investments for Moravia and Silesia are substantially lower than the Czechoslovak average.

12th Roundtable Session Opens in Berlin

LD1202092190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0822 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The shaping of the proposed treaty-based community of the two German states is among the main topics of the 12th GDR roundtable session, which opened in Berlin on Monday morning. The representatives of the 16 participating parties, political groupings, and movements will, on the eve of Prime Minister Hans Modrow's FRG trip, present their viewpoints on future cooperation between the two German states.

Also expected are reports by the ministers of justice and of post and telecommunications. The draft of a party and association bill, co-determination and trade union work in the enterprises, a statement from the Council of State about the local elections of last year, as well as other political, economic, and social issues also are on the roundtable agenda.

Modrow Visit to FRG Noted

LD1202103890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0955 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Those bearing political responsibility in the two German states must now meet their joint national responsibility. This was noted on Monday by the participants in the roundtable in Berlin in a motion on the FRG trip by Premier Hans Modrow that starts on Tuesday. The morning debate of the 12th session began with the discussion of the position paper worked out by the "treaty-based community working group."

The roundtable expects that the FRG is now doing everything in order to stop a further destabilization of the situation and to contribute to calming the situation, it is said. The present objective is, above all, to ensure that GDR citizens remain in the country. An emphatic demand is made for the speedy implementation of economic reform. However, visible results in the interests of the people can be achieved only if the FRG is making a solidarity contribution, said to be 10-15 billion Deutsche marks, which is being discussed in Dresden right now.

The roundtable endorses in principle a monetary union between the two German states as an important measure for the establishment of a German economic union. However, the vote is against a precipitate abandonment of the GDR's financial sovereignty.

The roundtable is in favor of the creation of a joint German Council as the organ of a German confederation. The process of the establishment of German unity should be part of the European process of rapprochement and take into account the interests of the four powers, as well as those of all the European peoples. What has been so far achieved in the European process of detente should be preserved. Neutrality status should not be made a precondition for German unity, the motion says. Expanding NATO to the Oder-Neisse frontier would, however, not be acceptable in the interest of European security.

* NDPD Publishes Revised Draft Platform

90EG0150A East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 30 Jan 90 p 3

["Election Program: Draft" compiled by the NDPD (National Democratic Party of Germany) election program commission; first paragraph is NATIONAL-ZEITUNG introduction]

[Text] At the behest of the 14th Party Congress, suggested topics of discussion arising from that same 14th Party Congress, as well as those from other writings, were incorporated by the election program commission into the second draft of the election program. (Time of publication: 23 January 1990)

The NDPD and Its Responsibility for Our Country

We are a party in the humanistic and democratic tradition of the German people, a party of redetermination and preservation of national identity, rooted in the totality of German history—a party whose fundamental principles are anti-Fascist and anti-Stalinist; a party of openness, open to everything that serves the interests of all the people.

Democratic and Oriented Toward the Future—the NDPD

For the Unity of the German Nation

The NDPD, as an initiator of confederation, is for:

- Gradual extension of the agreement to a confederation, the goal of which is the unity of Germany within its present boundaries
- An economic and monetary union
- A national policy embedded in the European unification and disarmament process
- A partnership of security and the formation of trust in Europe
- The conclusion of a peace treaty and the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

For Social Justice

We understand this to mean:

- Safeguarding the interests of the workers in free trade unions
- Protection for the pensioners
- Assurance of financial support for the aged through dynamic pension readjustments
- Protection for the handicapped and their integration into society
- Protection for the family
- Real equality of rights and opportunities for women

- Protection and a future for our children and policies that are favorable to the young
- Equitable taxation.

For Humanism and Human Dignity

We understand this to mean:

- Freedom for enfranchised citizens
- The consistent realization of all human rights
- Open, free intellectual life and a tolerant point of view
- Respect of humanistic and religious faiths and viewpoints, and the right to exercise them
- A relationship between Church and State that is marked by trust.

For Democracy

We understand this to mean:

- Equality of opportunity for all citizens at the workplace and in society
- Political pluralism and opposition as a control mechanism
- Public disclosure and public control of all governmental affairs
- Equality of all democratic institutions
- The formation of interest-specific representative bodies, associations, and organizations
- Independent media free of censorship.

The NDPD stands for the radical removal of the power structures of the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism] at all levels. It is against every type of electoral alliance with, and against a future coalition with, the SED-PDS.

The NDPD is open to an electoral alliance and a coalition with other democratic forces.

For a Government of Laws and Security of Rights We Consider That To Mean:

- A division of power and an independent judiciary
- Freely-elected parliaments
- Plebiscites as an expression of the true will of the people
- Consistent action against violence, terrorism, and radicalism from the Right as well as from the Left
- No defamation, intolerance, or exclusion of any citizens
- A police force that serves the people's need to be protected
- National Armed Forces that are incapable of launching attacks
- Decisive legal measures and international agreements to prevent abuses of the open border.

We call for the abolition of the State Council and the election of a President.

For the Establishment of Effective Community Policies

We consider that to mean:

- Administrative reform, including the restoration of the Laender
- Strengthening of local responsibility and the economic basis of the communities
- The dismantling of bureaucracies and administrative waste.

We call for:

Holding local elections at the earliest possible date!

For a Radical Economic Reform

We take that to mean:

- A market economy that bears the imprint of social and ecological considerations
- The creation of economic conditions that are based on fundamental social needs
- Equality in the implementation of all property reforms
- Specific promotion of entrepreneurial initiatives
- Consistent implementation of the principles of achievement
- Upgrading the status of the skilled worker, the master craftsman, and the engineer so as to restore the concept of German quality craftsmanship to its former standing
- Comprehensive participation in the international division of labor.
- Development of a relationship to the EC
- A freely convertible (Eastern) mark in conjunction with security for savings.

For Free Development of Crafts, Commerce, and Employment

We consider this to mean:

- A law applying to workers and gainful employment assuring equal rights in matters of pricing, wages, taxation, and credit policies
- Free organizational structure of skilled labor and gainful employment
- Guaranteed freedom to practice an occupation and privatization of commercial establishments, inns and restaurants, hotels, and service industries
- Reform of the wholesale trade
- Guarantees of independence and self-management of cooperative associations.

Greater Respect of the Agricultural Class

We take this to mean:

- Improvements in the material and technological basis of all agricultural enterprises, regardless of their property status
- Improvements in the quality of village life.

For Ecological Safety

We consider this to mean:

- Striking a balance between economic effectiveness and ecological safety on a national and international level

- Protection and preservation of our natural resources
- New legislation in terms of environmental protection, conservation, and land resources management, and strict measures to see that the legislation is enforced
- Severe sanctions for environmental offenses
- Environmental protection as a component of schooling and education.

The NDPD calls for a future-oriented, environmentally sound energy concept!

For Free Development in Scholarship and Education

We consider this to mean:

- Freedom in scholarship, teaching, and research
- Valuing science and the scientist
- New forms of training and support for pupils, students, and young scientists
- Respect for teachers and educators, and opportunities for them to develop
- Embracing the progressive traditions of the German educational system
- Equal educational opportunities for all.

For the Free Development of Culture and Art

We take this to mean:

- The preservation and enrichment of our humanistic culture as a part of our national identity and its far-reaching material security through the State, as well as through the auspices of social and private interests
- Comprehensive urban renewal and landmark preservation
- Preservation and protection of the German and Sorbian language and cultural heritage
- Total freedom of humanistic artistic creativity
- The preservation and promotion of traditional folk culture
- Broad cultural exchanges
- No selling-off of our cultural heritage.

For Effective Health and Social Programs

We take this to mean:

- The unity of environment, health, and economy
- Decisive measures to improve material and technological conditions in the interest of the medical care of all, and to render the work of all medical personnel easier
- A higher social status and material recognition of those who work in the fields of health care and social welfare
- Equal footing of all facilities that provide medical care or social services
- Private initiatives in the areas of health care and social services, sports and leisure activities
- A well-balanced promotion of leisure activities, sports programs for everyone, and high-performance sports programs
- Extension of the network of nursing homes and shelters for the aged.

Dear Voters!

Anyone who feels a bond of responsibility toward our goals for a democratic renewal of the country will give us his vote!

...So that it can finally be better for us all!

For the NDPD!

NDPD Outlines Plan for German Unity

AU0902161390 East Berlin
BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Feb p 1

[Unattributed report: "NDPD On The Road To German Unity—Statement Of The People's Chamber Group"]

[Excerpts] In his reply to the government statement delivered by Hans Modrow to the People's Chamber on 17 November 1989, Guenter Hartmann, People's Chamber floor leader of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], was the first GDR politician to suggest a confederation of the two German states on the road to solving the German question.

A German unity plan expanding this line and defining measures in this respect was submitted for discussion to the 14th NDPD Congress at its first meeting on 20 January 1990 by Manfred Goedecke, People's Chamber deputy and delegate to the congress. The Party Congress agreed to it on principle. [passage omitted]

Having revised the plan, and based on our knowledge of the Modrow plan—to which we agree on principle—the People's Chamber group presents to the second meeting of the NDPD Congress and to the public the following version of our plan on measures to achieve German unity:

1. Establishing economic and monetary union between the two German states as soon as possible and GDR membership in the EC.

2. Comprehensive disarmament steps by both German states (50 percent reduction of armed forces and no new armament projects as a first step). Converting NATO and the Warsaw Pact from military-political to political-military alliances.

We regard the extension of NATO onto GDR territory as wrong. A CSCE Conference II in Helsinki at the end of 1990 should be the forum for discussion of all international aspects for the solution of the German question.

3. Following the return to the federal structure of laender in the GDR, we promote the establishment of an all-German laender chamber, including elected representatives from all German land diets, with a blocking minority of five land diet representative bodies for the decisions of this body.

4. This chamber of laender ought to promote the forming of a confederation of the two German states with joint political bodies, together with a referendum on the concepts for establishing an all-German state in terms of time and contents.

5. Positive results in the plebiscite provided, we advocate holding elections in both German states to a German constituent assembly and drawing up a German constitution, which has to be implemented by popular vote.

6. Subsequently, we are in favor of elections to an all-German parliament, the election of a German president, the formation of a German government, and the proclamation of the German Republic.

7. This German government must conduct negotiations leading to the conclusion of a peace treaty with the victorious powers of World War II, including negotiations on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from German soil.

8. From this German Government we expect further initiatives for the greatest possible reduction of the German armed forces in the context of disbanding the current military blocs, and the establishment of a pan-European security system.

In the face of the inseparable interconnection between foreign and domestic policy, German unity, which is aspired to on the basis of this plan, is only possible by—on the one hand—a social market economy, which has to be introduced in the GDR (while social securities must be maintained at the same time), and—on the other hand—the expansion and improvement of the social element of the market economy in the FRG. In order to achieve each subsequent step in the two German states' growing closer together as far as foreign policy is concerned, a dynamic rapprochement of these two states in the spheres of domestic, and particularly economic, and social policy is also required. In the sphere of foreign policy, the German-German process of unification requires that it is incorporated in and synchronized with the construction of the European home, global disarmament, and the preservation of peace in the world.

Rauls Elected NDPD Chairman at Congress

LD1102104690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1029 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Wolfgang Rauls was elected chairman of the National Democratic Party of Germany on Sunday. At the 14th party congress in Berlin, he received 438 of the 678 valid votes cast in the first ballot.

A runoff with the runner-up, Dr. Lothar Mueller, became unnecessary since Mueller decided not to run again.

Proposes Alliance with LDP

LD1102151990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) proposed an electoral alliance with the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) on Sunday.

A letter from new NDPD Chairman Wolfgang Rauls to LDP Chairman Dr. Rainer Ortleb, elected on the previous day, says that the NDPD, in alliance with the LDP, would like to open up in honesty and openness a new chapter in party relations. The electoral alliance should create the democratic force of the political center with a national liberal and liberal social stamp "that is essential for the future and that surely brings new hope to any people. We are openly for constructive talks," says the letter, which was adopted by the NDPD party congress.

8-point Unity Plan Adopted

LD1102210990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR National Democrats declare their backing for an antifascist and anti-Stalinist basic stance, for humanism and democracy. These principles are anchored in an election program adopted by the 14th National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] Congress in Berlin today. It contains an eight-point plan for German unity, which the party proposes as "initiator of the notion of confederation." Economic and monetary union, EC entry, the forming of an all-German chamber of laender, confederation, a referendum, and all-German elections are steps to a "German Republic." These stand in the context of comprehensive disarmament steps and initiatives aimed at dissolving the two military blocs and the creation of an all-European security system.

The protection of the interests of the working people by free trade unions, retraining and support for the unemployed, protection for pensioners and equal rights for women are areas covered in the section of the programme on "social justice." [passage omitted]

Under "radical economic reform" there is a call for, inter alia, a social and ecological market economy, equal rights for enterprises under all forms of ownership, and convertibility for the mark, while safeguarding savings.

14th Congress Ends

LD1102181890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1727 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 14th Congress of the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) ended this evening. Earlier the delegates decided on their

election program and elected the remaining members of the Executive, which totals 61, and the 15-member Control Commission.

In his concluding speech, Chairman Wolfgang Rauls referred to the eight-point program for German unity, which had been submitted in January by People's Chamber Deputy Dr. Manfred Goedecke, and which now, following discussion and revision, has been included in the election program. No timetable for the individual steps has been given.

Wolfgang Rauls called for an election alliance of all national and liberal forces in the GDR for the People's Chamber and local elections.

Extraordinary LDPD Congress Opens in Dresden

LD0902133190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1124 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The extraordinary Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] congress opened in Dresden at noon today. At the beginning of their two-day plenary meeting, the delegates welcomed a representative delegation from the Free Democratic Party [FDP] in the FRG led by party Chairman Count Otto Lambsdorf and a delegation from the newly founded FDP in the GDR. Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach, LDPD chairman and acting chairman of the GDR State Council, said at the opening that the future fate of the party depends on this congress. It is both a congress for renewal and elections.

Gerlach Addresses Congress

LD0902142390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1236 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] today renounced socialism once and for all because so far it has not been implemented anywhere. This statement was made by LDPD Chairman Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach in his opening speech to the extraordinary congress in Dresden today.

Instead, the party supports parliamentary democracy, an ecologically and socially oriented market economy, and the fastest possible unification of the two German states in a unified Europe.

The LDPD chairman and acting chairman of the GDR State Council added that the fate of the party depends on this congress. It is both a congress of renewal and elections.

The political changes in the GDR are proving to be a democratic revolution. But the statement that things must change is not enough for the Liberals. At stake is a policy of what is feasible with informed opinion and level-headedness, said Gerlach. At present there is a dangerous radicalization and an alarming splintering of the country's political forces. Many people are confused and it is important to win over the silent majority. Gerlach demands the cooperation of all liberal parties and groupings in the GDR and active support for it from the FDP [Free Democratic Party] in the FRG.

The speaker, who subsequently described his party as the LDP, said the motto for the election program is "liberal in thinking, social in actions, German in sentiments—with a European orientation."

Referring to the work of the congress and the party, Gerlach said that the principles of the LDPD now have to be implemented. "There are not just demonstrators but also many who want to preserve what has been tried and tested. Not everything of the past 40 years was bad." The Liberals want to take up the concerns of the citizens in both their political and parliamentary actions.

"Let us protect the unity of cohesion of our party," Gerlach told the delegates, who applauded him for his statement that "the country needs a strong LDPD, Germany, and Europe. It needs strong liberal forces."

Gerlach, who was general secretary from 1954 to 1967 and since then LDPD chairman, discussed the burden of the past for his party at the beginning of his speech. He admitted that he should have vigorously confronted Stalinism in the 1950s, as many people in the ranks of the party had done. However, he believed what he said. He has had misgivings since 1985 with the introduction of glasnost. The party shares responsibility for the crisis in the country, but should not wear a hair shirt. [passage omitted]

FRG's Lambsdorff Speaks

LD0902161290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1428 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Speaking at the extraordinary party congress of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] in Dresden today, Otto Graf Lambsdorff, chairman of the Free Democratic Party of the FRG, said that the liberals in east and west are now faced with the splendid task of working on German unity. Many people deserve thanks for this policy, but above all it is thanks to the courage and farsightedness of Gorbachev.

Lambsdorff called for the rapid introduction of the social market economy in the GDR. Radical signals must be given for this, and then the FRG would be prepared for every kind of assistance to the GDR. He declared: "The Liberals will jointly see to it that no new models of socialism will be tried out on people". Pure socialism is like "a devil at a masked ball".

Further From Lambsdorf

LD0902225290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1938 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The LDP [Liberal Democratic Party]—without the additional D—is prepared for a renewal of its program and personnel. The chairman of

the FRG FDP [Free Democratic Party] Otto Graf Lambsdorff, made this assessment of the Dresden LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] special party congress to ADN this evening. The party congress recognized that the liberal forces in the GDR must stand together. He was confident that the party congress is striving for a liberal alliance.

With reference to the chances for the Liberals in the 15 March parliamentary elections, the politician stated: "The liberals achieved good results at the last reasonably free elections in 1946." In the meantime, the political groupings here were such that one could see quite clearly: On the left are the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] and the Social Democrats; on the right the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], the conservative wing of Democratic Awakening, and above all the DSU [German Social Union]. The center is to be occupied by the liberals, who must conduct a committed election campaign. Lambsdorff cited the bringing together of an election alliance as a prerequisite.

In view of the party union mentioned by LDPD Chairman Gerlach, the FRG politician evaluated that at the moment talks of a merger are premature. But, during the year after the elections, one must try to get a Free Democratic Party in the GDR off the ground. The aim is a pan-German liberal party that could then just be called the Free Democratic Party. Lambsdorff did not wish to say anything about the timeframe for the reunification of the two German states because all such predictions are being overtaken by reality.

In reply to a question on the immediately imminent insolvency of the GDR, expressed in Bonn government circles according to Western news agencies, the respected finance expert replied that this assertion has now been denied in Bonn. No one had made this statement, which was moreover irresponsible. It contributed to further intensifying and increasing the disquiet and emigration.

FRG's Genscher Speaks

LD0902184490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1702 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, member of the FDP [Federal Democratic Party] Federal Executive, spoke at the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] extraordinary party congress in Dresden today in favor of supporting the electoral campaign in the GDR. He had received many queries about his appearances at relevant meetings in the GDR, such as from the Forum Party and the FDP. "But, I would like to appear for the liberal forces as a whole," the FRG politician said to the tumultuous applause of the delegates. Freedom is indivisible, and there can only be victory if the liberals are united. Genscher called for a free, democratic, and liberal Germany. In doubt, for freedom—that is the liberals' credo.

The work of the LDPD party congress has to be directed toward securing the credibility of the party's program and people. A liberal party has to be a party of the social market economy, which recognizes the interests of working people.

Genscher described the peaceful revolution in the GDR as a revolution of freedom; it honors the entire nation, and the citizens of the FRG are grateful for this. For him, liberalism is the most comprehensive alternative to lack of freedom.

On behalf of the FDP in the FRG, Genscher conveyed warmest greetings to the "delegates from the German laender in the GDR." The congressional delegates represent the future parts of a united Germany, he said, and added: "I speak as a German to Germans; I speak as a liberal to liberals."

Unity from below is in full swing, and today much more can happen than most people have assumed, Genscher said. No alliance can now prevent the Germans from tackling economic and currency reform. It is necessary to show people that it is worth staying in the GDR. For this reason, a pension reform is also pressing because old people in the GDR have as much a claim to fulfilled twilight years as pensioners in the FRG.

There is equally little need to wait for alliance decisions in the case of measures for a modern health service. "Let us begin with solidarity in humanity," Genscher said, and pointed to the already available possibility of creating an all-German transport communications structure and an all-German energy linkup. For this, however, tutelage and restrictions in the GDR must be abolished.

"We Germans have no territorial claims against any of our neighbors," Genscher told the delegates. When the people of the GDR elect a new parliament and a new government on 18 March they will have to decide on the future economy and German unity, and find a way to them. Both German governments will then reach an understanding on a road to unity and present a joint concept to the allies and European peoples, which once and for all, clarifies what should belong together. "This will be the GDR and the FRG, no more and no less!"

With this, the Germans have a chance to contribute to peace in Europe and the world. "We renounce nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and want to be a driving force for disarmament and cooperation." Genscher called for the tearing down of the Berlin Wall to be accompanied by the elimination of missiles and bombs. "They no longer fit in with our future." This is why a summit conference of the CSCE countries is necessary this year. "And why shouldn't Berlin in the heart of a Germany that is uniting itself, be the venue for such a meeting?" Genscher asked.

Ortleb Elected Chairman

LD1002000790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2243 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—The extraordinary party congress of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of

Germany] elected on Friday [9 February] evening Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb as new chairman of the party. The 45-year-old extraordinary professor at Rostock University received 390 of the 735 valid votes cast.

Ortleb has been a party member since 1968 and was last chairman of the Rostock-Stadt district executive. [passage omitted]

Name Changed to LDP

LD1002193790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1042 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD) will go into the election campaign in the GDR with the new name "LDP" [Liberal Democratic Party]. A vigorous debate was unleashed about the party's new name at the extraordinary party congress that is currently being held in Dresden. Today, the delegates in the end followed the proposal by their new chairman, Rainer Ortleb, and did without all additions such as "The Liberals." Such phrases could be added in regional election campaigns in accordance with specific conditions.

Wolfgang Mischnick, the leader of the Bundestag group of the Western FDP [Free Democratic Party], called on the delegates to bring together all liberal forces in the GDR and go to the voters together on 18 March. The specific form of a liberal alliance could not yet be laid down; it would depend on the expected electoral law in the GDR. If the alliance did not come about, then the FDP politician predicted a majority for the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party] and noted that the PDS [Party For Democratic Socialism] could also represent a force that could not determine events but could continue to have a physical effect.

Otto Graf Lambsdorff described the background conversations being conducted in Bonn on the GDR's imminent insolvency as arson in the GDR's serious situation. He called on those responsible in the Federal Government "to muzzle background or foreground conversations or, better still, fire the officials concerned."

The LDPD is today continuing the work of its extraordinary party congress with a debate on its draft constitution. Yesterday, Professor Rainer Ortleb was elected the party's new chairman.

CDU Deputy Education Minister Resigns

LD0902163990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1610 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Volker Abend, deputy GDR minister of education (Christian Democratic Union mandate bearer) announced his resignation this afternoon. He was thus reacting to the protests of thousands of teachers, pupils, and parents at the remarks he made at a news conference last Wednesday. There he had called into question, inter alia, school meals and after-school care. Thousands of teachers and pupils gathered for a protest demonstration this afternoon in front of the Ministry of Education building.

CDU Chairman Addresses Party Cooperation

LD1002162590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the GDR's Christian Democratic Union [CDU] has spoken in favor of a democratic consensus on the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. He underlined to his party's executive in Berlin today that the Socialist Democratic Party has become its main adversary. It will be the CDU's most important opponent in the political debate. In spite of this, the CDU hopes and they will remain prepared "for a basic democratic consensus being nontheless possible between the parties on vital issues." This is also true of groups and small parties with whose concerns the CDU identifies.

In his situation report, de Maiziere developed his thoughts on a popular elections campaign and also touched upon the "Alliance for Germany" with Democratic Awakening and the German Social Union. He did not intend to hide the fact that it has come about with decisive support from Bonn. However, he underlined the three partners' independence and was reticent about a joint list by the conservative electoral pact.

At the same time, the meeting dealt with preparations for the CDU's 17th party congress, which will be held in Berlin on 9 and 10 March, a week before the People's Chamber elections.

CDU Party Congress in Mar Postponed

LD1002182590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1715 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The 17th CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Party Congress, convened for the week before the People's Chamber election, now will not take place. The party executive considered it not sensible to stage this programatic party congress in Berlin on 9 and 10 March. It therefore rescinded on Saturday a relevant resolution of 6 January and agreed on a large-scale election campaign on 10 March with foreign guests and prominent candidates. A new party congress date will be decided on at a later date. [passage omitted]

Modrow Says Retaining Army 'Essential'

LD1102133790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1237 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National People's Army (NVA) of the GDR is and remains for him an essential element in the parallel processes of stabilizing society in the country and bringing together of the two German states, in the revolutionary changes in all the Warsaw Pact member states, in building the European home, and in radical disarmament. This view is expressed by GDR

Premier Dr. Hans Modrow in an interview with the VOLKSARMEE magazine, prereleased to ADN on Sunday.

It was and remains the NVA's task "to guarantee the external security of the GDR and her citizens against all military dangers." It must make growing contributions, both in import and extent, "to military confidence building, arms control and disarmament, and thus to reducing the military balance to a steadily lower level, right down to the eventual removal of all aggressive capability, the disbandment of military pacts, and consolidation of the security partnership."

Asked about the NVA's place in his concept for "Germany, united fatherland," Modrow said that "whatever the pros and cons" one must proceed from the premise "that one day there will exist a united German state on the basis of several federal states," for even the majority of GDR citizens are, according to latest opinion polls, in favor of unification of the two German states and West Berlin. "But we would misinterpret our interests if we are indifferent to the interests of neighboring states, the allies, and other European states." Therefore, at no stage should the situation be allowed to destabilize, and in parallel with everything being done in Central Europe, a conscious contribution should be made to new cooperative security structures on the continent.

Modrow said he has come to the conclusion "that military neutralization of a future greater Germany could be an acceptable solution." Protest against that was raised at the recent international defense forum in Munich.

On the role and place of the NVA, the GDR head of government affirmed "first, the need of its continuing existence." The GDR Armed Forces, through the alliance partnership in the Warsaw Pact, are part of the present European security setup and represent a factor of political and military stability in it.

The GDR Military Reform Commission, together with competent roundtable representatives, is presently engaged in changing the structure and equipment of the NVA to reduce its size and revamp its training, and to base this on the absolute minimum to meet its obligations under the Constitution. In this we cannot abandon our international obligations, our responsibility for European security, Modrow stressed.

The principles of GDR military doctrine are at present being discussed especially by the People's Chamber and the roundtable, in order to adopt relevant resolutions. The GDR premier referred in this connection to the significant unilateral reductions in the NVA that started last year.

A consensus has been achieved with the forces bearing political responsibility "that the process of gradual unification of the German states should go hand in hand with a gradual reduction of the NVA and, we also believe, of the Bundeswehr." Modrow also advocated further steps in accordance with the Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament and the continuing general process of international detente. "But let us not forget that new pan-European security structures still must be created."

He sees no contradiction between his concept and the summons published earlier this month calling up for military service those born in 1972. "All responsible politicians are aware that the future development in our country and the process of unification of the two German states and the future of disarmament and demilitarization in Europe cannot be carried out in haste." Until then military service will inevitably exist, Modrow said, and recalled the alternative of doing civilian service instead. "However, the duty of every male youngster to serve a certain time for the benefit of society and its security will presumably remain, as in the FRG today."

SPD Minister Observes Soviet, GDR Military

LD0902163590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Minister Dr. Walter Romberg [Social Democratic Party] visited members of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces and the GDR National People's Army (NVA) at the Sandau and Klietz training grounds today. A troop exercise that has been notified to all CSCE states is being held there until 11 February.

Major General Konstantin V. Bogdanov informed the GDR minister about the aims, phases, and course of the exercise so far. Afterward, Dr. Romberg observed troop maneuvers. In a talk with the first deputy commander in chief and chief of staff of the Western Group, Lieutenant General Valeriy Fursin, the minister familiarized himself with the tasks and situation of the Western Group. He expressed a desire for more human contacts between the GDR citizens and Soviet soldiers.

On the same day, Dr. Romberg visited the 2d Motorized Infantry Regiment of the NVA to familiarize himself with the defense mission during the exercise.

Spokesman Denies GDR Approaching Insolvency

LD0902151490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1431 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Reports by Western news agencies quoting government circles in Bonn about the GDR's imminent insolvency have been rejected as nonsensical by government spokesman Minister Wolfgang Meyer in response to a query from ADN. He stated that he can, of course, only speak for the Modrow government, and he stated on its behalf that as long as this government exists the GDR will remain solvent.

The assertion spead in the same manner that there might be "earlier elections" in the GDR were denied to ADN by People's Chamber President Dr. Guenther Maleuda.

That would fail simply because, if premature elections were held, their free and democratic character could no longer be guaranteed.

Insolvency Report Doubted

LD0902152490 Hamburg DPA in German 1436 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The Federal Government has stated officially via government spokesman Hans Klein that it does not hold the view that the GDR will be insolvent in the next days. According to Klein, the Federal Government is also not of the view that the date for the GDR elections, which has already been brought forward to 18 March, "could still be doubted in the short term."

Klein stated further that the fact that certain quarters have expressed the fear of such extreme possibilities when viewing the dramatic developments in the GDR does not change anything in the Federal Government's assessment.

CDU Chairman on Solvency

AU1002181390 Hamburg BILD in German 10 Feb 90 pp 1,3

[Unattributed report: "The GDR Before Collapse"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—The situation in the GDR has exacerbated dramatically. The large news agencies sent reports around the world that the GDR is faced with insolvency and with a complete collapse. [passage omitted]

In an interview with BILD, Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the GDR's Christian Democratic Union [CDU], confirmed the dramatic situation. Millions of GDR citizens are now pinning their hopes on Kohl and Gorbachev. They should save what is still to be saved.

"The situation in the GDR must be described as extremely dramatic," sources close to the chancellor stressed yesterday. Kohl had received corresponding information from GDR Prime Minister Modrow during the meeting in Davos one week ago.

Lother de Maiziere, deputy prime minister and CDU chairman, pointed out that "there is an increasing gap between revenues from exports and expenditure due to imports. The solvency of the GDR has indeed become a very big problem. It does not really make any difference whether we become insolvent next week or in two weeks' time," he stated. [passage omitted]

Sindermann Released From Investigative Custody

LD0902222290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1912 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, former president of the GDR People's Chamber and former member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo, has been released from investigative custody. The spokesman for the GDR state prosecutor, Dieter Plath, confirmed this today to ADN in reply to an inquiry.

The state prosecutor- general arranged this step because of Sindermann's poor state of health.

Sindermann, 74 years old, is accused of abuse of office. He has been in custody since January.

Berlin Mayor Denies Electoral Falsification

LD0902213290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1726 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Chief Mayor [of Berlin] Erhard Krack has once again firmly rejected repeatedly raised accusations that he had been involved in electoral falsifications in the Berlin City districts. They are without foundation, he empasized in a statement given to ADN today. He had been neither directly nor indirectly involved in electoral falsification in connection with the local elections on 7 May 1989.

"I have at no time brought influence to bear on those with political responsibility or on workers subordinate to me to give false electoral results or to manipulate actually existing election results," the chief mayor stressed. Claims to the contrary are not true. "I repeat my demand to the state prosecutor general to clear up the state of affairs immediately," Erhard Krack said. Until it is cleared up, then he should also expect, in the interests of the City Council's ability to act, that misleading public statements should cease, regardless of their origin.

"My political responsibility demands that I, weighing all the circumstances, exercise my office as chief mayor in the interests of the ability to operate of our local community, as long as I have the commission from the deputies to do so," Krack said. At the same time, he admitted that as a local politician, he bore co-responsibility for the known deformations of the political system of the country. He would take up the process of the renewal of society, backed by all social forces, with all his power.

Print Media Proliferation Surveyed

90EG0146A Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 44 No 5 29 Jan 90 pp 56-61

[Unattributed article: "Duds from the 'Groevaz'"]

[Text] The new newspapers in the GDR are called PLATTFORM, DIE ANDERE, BUERGERRAT, and AUFBRUCH. They print "thoughts about a time of change," press for "initiatives for a renewal of society," and lament the past years—"my entire life in the GDR," as one woman writer puts it. They sound the trumpet "for the upcoming, hottest election campaign in German GDR history" and for the "unity" of the opposition "against the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]." In the MECKLENBURGER AUFBRUCH, which is

printed in the West German town of Rendsburg, a GDR citizen writes with wonder: "We are expressing ourselves again for the first time in decades."

All of them have only been published a few times—as journals of grass-roots democratic groups and as independent newspapers "for full-fledged citizens." DIE ANDERE, which belongs to the reform movement New Forum in East Berlin, was published last weekend for the first time—"made by journalists who are fed up with living with the censor's sissors in their heads" as they had put it previously in a typewritten announcement on the bulletin board of their meeting place at 19 Rosa Luxemburg Street. Some 100,000 copies are to be printed weekly.

This development alarms not only the old guard of the SED, but the hip transition-journalists of the former East German state party as well. GDR editors blessed with a little imagination already see in these new publications, which for the present are still rather sparingly put together, the beginning of the end of the old SED press empire with its large-circulation newspapers such as FREIE ERDE, NEUER TAG, VOLKSSTIMME, VOLKSWACHT, and VOLKSZEITUNG. They all are branded as standard-bearers for Comrade Erich Honecker who, in addition to his other all-inclusive powers, also enjoyed the reputation of being a "Groevaz"—the greatest publisher of all newspapers in the East German Republic. [Translator's note: "Groevaz" here is a made-up word composed of the initial syllables and letters of the title "greatest publisher of all newspapers." It is especially scathing in that the exact same appellation was originally given to Adolph Hitler during World War II, when, as a result of mounting German defeats, "Groevaz" was composed from the words of the sarcastic title "greatest field marshal of all times."]

Skepticism, an attitude that in Stalin's time was still getting communists shot, has spread to the ranks of the socialist press elite. "I instinctively believe," mused deputy editor in chief Reiner Oschmann of the supra-regional party newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND), "that we are facing changes that could be very rapid and very profound and could entail a whole lot of problems." The former ND correspondent in London admits to being "very skeptical in regard to the success that directly affiliated and closely-controlled party newspapers will have in the long run."

And ND was really closely controlled. Former SED boss Erich Honecker appointed ND editior in chief Joachim Herrmann, 61, to the cental committee in 1978 as the Secretary for Agitation and Propaganda. There, Herrmann proceeded to direct the SED party newspapers, with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND leading the way. Oschmann suspects that he had neither the latitude nor indeed "the greatness" to let his successors run the newspaper in peace. Guenter Schabowski, 61, and later Herbert Naumann, 60, had to come running to Herrmann all the time to receive their orders. Once, finally—and it was already 12 October, three days after the historic silent march of the 50,000 in Leipzig anyway—the agitprop boss decided to relent. In a long article for ND, Juergen Brinkmann, a construction worker and SED party organizer at the Berlin Housing Construction Combine had made well-intentioned suggestions regarding plan fulfillment but in so doing had criticized sloppiness and bureaucracy and addressed obvious issues: "There is an awfully lot of discussion going on and often more questions are posed than answers found. No one can remain unaffected, however, when so many of our young people are leaving the Republic and are exchanging our socialist values for others."

Naumann did not dare simply to publish the article. He presented it to Herrmann, who gave his approval. Brinkmann's thoughts were prepared in four columns under the rubric of "A Construction Worker on Questions of the Times." The headline: "Who, If Not We, Can Make Socialism More Attractive?" Meanwhile, however, Herrmann got cold feet and, for the sake of caution, asked Honecker. He judged that Brinkmann's doubts were not in tune with the grassroots of the party. The article had to be taken out of the paper again—a grotesque dual example of Honecker's blindness to reality and of the narrow-minded way in which the media were being led around by the nose. Oschmann's colleague Michael Mueller, 44, remembers that "such intervention occurred frequently and was the reason that publication deadlines were missed time and time again." More than a million East German marks have been spent at ND in recent years just to technically implement partisan political instructions.

At the BERLINER ZEITUNG (BZ)—likewise a newspaper with SED tradition—editor in chief Hans Eggert still today can point out to visitors the gray telephones over which his predecessor Dieter Kerschek used to receive directions from the party and state leadership via direct line. Eggert, who has had his position since November, knows that there had been "constant calls, but the lines are now dead." ND deputy editor Mueller confirms that "there is no more interference—we alone decide on content, placement, and size" of articles. BZ boss Eggert is certain that Honecker successor Gregor Gysi, the chairman of the SED-PDS (SED-Party of Democratic Socialism), is "strictly oriented towards the constitutional state." The fatal flaw, however, was that at first Gysi legalistically maintained the SED-PDS' press monopoly—in the face of all expectations to the contrary in journalistic circles. In early January, BZ reported on consultations between Gysi and the managing directors of the party-owned press and printing holding company Zentrag with the words "legal party property must be recognized as such."

For a moment it appeared as if the new openness of GDR journalism was to remain a brief, lively interlude—GDR television reporting of the mass demonstrations, JUNGE WELT's critical-sarcastic reports about the fired party graybeards, the revelations by many

media of personal enrichment and millions in profiteering within the state and SED apparatus. It seemed as if party cadre who had been biding their time but had remained intact both within and outside of the media could, step by step, again restrict liberalized reporting. The Rostock OSTSEE-ZEITUNG had already announced in a comentary "that many of our loyal readers have informed us emphatically—yes, even with outrage—that they reject the kind of journalism that has been practiced frequently in recent weeks." To be sure, the editor in chief of the newspaper, Siegbert Schuett, had resigned in December. He remained for the time being in the newspaper's management, however, where he was responsible for special editions produced by the 11 local editing offices in the Bezirk and where he kept a watchful eye out to see that the journalistic lack of restraint did not prevail at the OSTSEE-ZEITUNG. The graduate of the party college and of the Academy of Social Sciences in Moscow would "under no circumstances like to see developments rolled back," but he remains "true" to his "socialist ideals."

Wolfgang Tiedke, 39, is one of those for whom things are not going fast enough in area of journalistic self-liberation. The newly elected editor in chief of the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG, previously a lecturer in the Journalism Department of Leipzig's Karl Marx University, wants to move closer to a newspaper style that "is in accordance with a democratic political system." But over the years much lethargy has crept into the bullied editorial office. Now there is hardly time for self-reflection because of the changes. It is a problem "of tying one's shoes while running," according to Tiedke.

In order to get freedom of the press under way, employees of the Erfurt party newspaper DAS VOLK demanded a separation of their enterprise from the SED-PDS. They did not let party boss Gysi—who the previous week had threatened them with "Then we will shut off the money to you and see how you can pay salaries in January"—change their minds. Most of the employees, with the printers in the lead, turned in their party books. On 13 January it was decided at a plenary meeting to rechristen the newspaper the THUERINGER ALLGEMEINE. Masthead: "Independent Daily Newspaper." There was unrest at the SED newspapers in Suhl and Magdeburg as well. Finally, the party presidium in East Berlin reacted and recommended to the executive board that 11 of the 16 party-owned newspaper publications as well as 21 of 26 printing firms be given up and "converted into public property." Even the OSTSEE-ZEITUNG in Rostock escaped its party bonds and Schuett and other leading editors were forced out of their management positions.

But before the old guard yellow journalism threw its ballast overboard, the first newcomers were on the scene—and not only opposition newspapers. In Karl Marx Stadt an enterprising young publisher by the name of Jonny Michel founded a new WOCHENBLATT with a license from the Bezirk council. The newspaper has been selling for 50 pfennigs in the Erz Gebirge, Vogtland, and Muldental area since 5 January. Opening statement emblazoned above a naked title-girl: "The WOCHENBLATT is independent in the truest sense of the word. It does not belong to any party or citizens' initiative." The gratis first edition of a pan-German press project was published on Friday of last week in Leipig—likewise with a license from the Bezirk council: 180,000 copies of the newspaper WIR IN LEIPZIG. The advertising journal publisher Mathias Finck, 30, from Emsdetten in the Muensterland region, joined forces with Petro Feller, 32, a member of the GDR opposition, and the two want to publish the newspaper as a weekly by mid-April (planned circulation: 60,000; price: M 2.50), and later as a daily mass-circulation paper. The publishing operation is divided: Some 500 Leipzig citizens purchased shares at M 500 each in the Leipzig enterprise that will take over the editing, composition, and sales of the paper, while Finck's West Publishing will be responsible for printing and advertising sales. Some nine editors from the local Leipzig press and 26 other staff members have hired on at Finck & Feller.

Almost every day there are reports here of new press projects for over there. STERN Magazine, for example, is planning a gratis special edition for the GDR (projected printing: one million copies) with articles by oppositionists, BILD is waiting for better conditions for the establishment of GDR regional editions, and a Berlin journalists' initiative intends to revive the once-famous BERLINER TAGEBLATT—in pan-German form. The West Berlin VOLKSBLATT in Spandau and the MAERKISCHE VOLKSSTIMME in Potsdam published the advertising journal HAVELLAND ANZEIGER (printing: 160,000) on Tuesday of the week before last. One week later the Hannover classified advertising newspaper DER HEISSE DRAHT came out with a Leipzig edition that, in a cooperative effort with a private Leipzig publisher, is to be followed by further offshoots in Dresden, Magdeburg, Erfurt, and Karl Marx Stadt. In cooperation with its East Berlin publishing house, West Berlin radio and media entrepreneur Ulrich Schamoni had already produced a gratis extra-edition of the Liberal-Democratic MORGEN at Christmas time that was full of Western advertisements—such as for Marlboros and Schultheiss beer. Last week the THUERINGER ANZEIGER, which was started as a German-German joint venture, and a newspaper project of the Bremen WESER-KURIER for Rostock—there is no end to the publishing projects for the GDR.

Founding initiatives such as these irritate the established journalists in the GDR right up to those at ND. A press that is "entirely different from everything that had existed in the GDR"—with straining for effect, sensationalist journalism, and an appeal to baser instincts—is liked just as little by Reiner Oschmann as it is by most of his GDR colleagues. But it could be that it "will be tremendously successful," he opines. In the opinion of numerous GDR journalists, only through a decoupling from the SED-PDS can editors avoid being squeezed

between new competitor newspapers and a party apparatus that is growing in strength once again.

Not even ND editor in chief Wolfgang Spickermann's mid-December stipulation that "we are and will remain" a newspaper of the party is uncontroversial among his staff. Frustration and shame over the fact that they allowed themselves to be misused by a dogmatic and narrow-minded party leadership are too deep among the employees of all the GDR media. Day after day 9.7 million newspapers and magazines, radio, and television in addition disseminated the "narrow, provincial, distorted East Berlin perspective on things" (Oschmann). Like a fighting armada of objectively existing socialism, the battleships of the centrally commanded public opinion-shaping force sailed through the daily life of the GDR—but they bombarded the populace with journalistic duds. "Do you write like things are in the newspaper, or the way things are in life?" author Reiner Kunze, who later went to the West, was once asked by a GDR worker. Published opinion had ossified into the ritualized self-validation of the dominant doctrine of truth.

The editors in chief of the smaller bloc parties, from the East CDU [Christian Democratic Union] to the Farmers' Party, had to report every Tuesday noon to Kurt Blecha, the since-fired chief of the former press office under the chairman of the Council of Ministers. There, the presentation and omission of certain subjects was prescribed. Neglect of environmental protection, supply shortages, the flight of refugees from the GDR, and other taboo subjects were not permitted to be mentioned in the media. The instructions came primarily from Herrmann's censorship headquarters and Blecha served primarily as the extended arm of the central committee. Editor in chief Hans-Joachim Koppe, 55, of the East Berlin CDU newspaper NEUE ZEIT, says that the SED's media policy was simply "implemented" via the press ffice. Violations were severely punished. Those who deviated were forbidden to write or practice their profession and had to exercise self-criticism or were demoted and received disciplinary transfers.

But SED colleagues did not have it any better. Herrmann instituted a "system of daily coordination" (Oschmann). Michael Mueller experienced first-hand at ND how "how vigorously but hopelessly colleagues attempted to break through the dam." In the case of events in other countries that did not fit the SED's plans, the correspondents were simply "put on ice" (Oschmann) until a party guideline had been formulated. Only the texts of speeches by Moscow reformer Mikhail Gorbachev could be printed—analyses and commentaries were forbidden. It was not until the middle of last year that reporting about the Soviet Union was "cranked up:" "The results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Erich Honecker serve as a guide for this," as it was stated in the directive.

But indeed the editors of the junior parties still suffer the most today from the fact that they followed Erich Honecker, the ruler who was estranged from reality, through thick and thin. For it was, after all, primarily for the sake of SED interests that they were bullied and grossly disadvantaged in comparison to their SED colleagues. The circulation of their newspapers was fixed at considerably lower levels than the SED press when licenses were issued, and they earned less. Only editor in chief Rainer Duclaud, 48, of the Leipzig MITTELDEUTSCHLAND NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN, the Bezirk newspaper of the National Democratic Party, acknowledges that "we just cannot act now as though we were innocents." The former editor in chief of the CDU organ NEUE ZEIT, Dieter Eberle, is quoted by editors as having said that there was only one thing important for him: "To give my all." After the *Goetterdaemmerung* of the Honecker era, he was ready for the hospital—and was given a certificate of disability at the government hospital.

Now all over the country journalists were out looking to expose the offenses of the ruling elite. In November the young local editor of the CDU organ DER DEMOKRAT, Frauke Kaberka, brought the discovery of an SED weapons depot in the tiny village of Kavelsdorf to the public's attention. The Liberal Democratic MORGEN in East Berlin published references to the fact that 24 MiG jet fighters of the National People's Army that were to be scrapped in the course of arms reduction, were instead going to be turned into cash abroad—the Ministry for National Defense stopped the undertaking. The ADN news agency incessantly disseminated new revelations about Stasi machinations and the luxurious living of party bosses, and all the media reported on them. Many newspaper made special pages available to opposition groups for their announcements—such as the "Podium" section in the BZ on Saturdays. "It is dead certain," wrote editor in chief Joachim Freese, 62, of the Rostock CDU newspaper DEMOKRAT, as early as the beginning of this year, "that in six months there will be no more party newspapers."

Commentator Doubts U.S. Disarmament Credibility

LD1002101790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0939 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Jochen Stennert commentary—recorded]

[Text] Only one week ago, U.S. President George Bush suggested a considerable reduction of U.S. and Soviet troops. His suggestion was promptly supported, even by Mikhail Gorbachev. No doubt, that suggestion might push ahead the Vienna negotiations, for there are talks about the reduction of arms and forces in Europe going on, as everybody knows. Also the statement of Secretary of State James Baker, who is currently discussing details of the Bush proposal with the USSR leadership, has given rise to optimism. He advocated that the CSCE summit take place this very year, where a treaty on conventional arms in Europe might be signed. According to Baker, NATO should indeed remain the military

guarantor for stability in Europe, yet it should develop more markedly toward a political alliance.

All the more astonishing, Bush is now defending SDI and wants to extend that project, and he does not see any reason, in the context of the changes going on in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, to reduce U.S. military offensive capability.

There is also another report: Les Aspin, chairman of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, criticized the U.S. administration on the grounds that the draft of the 1991 defense budget reflects old thinking. Old thinking because the Pentagon draft budget meets neither the new international political reality, nor U.S. reality. Aspin believes that the USSR's domestic economic pressures certainly guarantee its interest in drastically reducing the strategic sector.

Esteemed listners, doubts must be permitted—why preserve offensive capability? In Eastern Europe, when everything has begun to move, including the military sector. Hungary wants the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops. There will be talks about such a withdrawal in the CSSR. The USSR itself has declared its preparedness to immediately and completely withdraw its troops from the GDR, provided that U.S., UK and French troops are withdrawn from the FRG. Only recently the GDR belatedly disclosed its defense expenses' structure and planning; in the past transparency was not taken too seriously in that field.

Particularly in light of such events, I harbor doubts when George Bush speaks of preserving offensive capability. I believe, the people in the East, who are advancing reforms and who are concerned over the future of their countries, have a right to hear clear statements by President Bush. To preserve offensive capability—how shall we understand that in veiw of the ongoing process of finally sealing the shipwreck of the old through free elections, while comprehensive cooperation with the West in all areas is sought?

I think that people in the East who have demonstrated such a great degree of courage in demolishing that ossified Stalinism, and who have also stressed honesty, particularly in the military field, do not deserve to be told that, notwithstanding all reforms and changes, U.S. offensive capability should remain. In my opinion, the question arises: Who is that offensive capability aimed at?

Demonstration Held Outside USSR Embassy

LD1002114890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—More than 100 residents of the town of Prenzlau (Neubrandenburg area) demonstrated outside the USSR Embassy in Berlin today protesting against the stationing of Soviet helicopters on the outskirts of town. They asked on their banners: "Tanks out, helicopters in?" and "Gorbi, where is the disarmament?"

In a statement, the citizens' initiative, the district assembly and the city's Protestant church spoke out against the Soviet military's delaying tactics in disbanding the garrison and called for it to be swiftly handed over to civilian use.

In the course of the unilateral disarmament by Soviet forces, the 22,000 inhabitants of Prenzlau bade farewell on 18 May to a tank unit based in the town last year. However, the citizens were greatly disappointed when this disarmament measure "meant immediate rearming with modern helicopters," it was announced in a leaflet handed out to passers-by in front of the embassy. The citizens have sent relevant appeals to the governments of the GDR and the Soviet Union. However, apart from a temporary and limited halt to the construction work, so far there have been no final results.

PDS, Hungarian Party Leaders Seek Cooperation

LD0902234490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2056 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) wish to cooperate in a comradely way and increase their exchange of experience. The chairmen of the two parties, Gregor Gysi and Rezso Nyers, spoke in favor of this in Berlin. The solidarity of the European left is a decisive condition for social progress.

In the talks, Gregor Gysi spoke in detail about the problems confronting the PDS in its own reformation and in the election campaign. He explained his party's fundamental position to resolve the German question within the framework of the CSCE process, taking into consideration the legitimate interests of other states. Prudence and perceptiveness are necessary to prevent the process of rapprochement between the two German states leading to chaos.

Gysi, Kwasniewski on Oder-Neisse Border

LD0902234290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2110 GMTG 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The focal point of talks between Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), and Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the main executive of the Social Democrat Party of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), was the process of rapprochement of the two German states, taking into consideration stability and security in Europe, as well as the interests of the neighboring countries in particular. It was announced that the two friendly parties wish to make a contribution to securing the inviolability of the Oder-Neisse border and to repulse revanchist and right-wing developments.

FRG SPD Chairman Discusses Unity

LD1102213490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2033 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—German unity should be realized in a form that promotes and does not hinder the process of European unification. This view was expressed by (West) Social Democratic Party [SPD] Chairman Hans-Jochen Vogel in an interview with GDR television today. On "Aktuelle Kamera," he called for a concrete concept for unification that should be prepared by both governments immediately after the elections on 18 March. For the Social Democrats of the FRG, unity in the areas of the economy, currency, social security, environment, and transport stands at the forefront. "We must not set back things that are now attainable because of the need for negotiations on the question of the alliance systems, negotiations that will not be simple," the politician said. Unity should be realized where it does not depend on alliance structures.

At the negotiations, the ideas of the people in the GDR should be made clear. The SPD chairman backed immediate measures in order to stabilize the situation in the GDR up to the elections. Vogel called for concrete concepts "leading particularly via Four-Power talks, in which the two German states—as those issuing the invitation—should really appear, to a CSCE summit."

Peace Initiative Member on FRG, Elections

LD1102200190 Hamburg DPA in German 1846 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to Minister Gerd Poppe, representative of the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, the election campaign in the GDR up to now has shown "that there can be no talk of equality of chances." The result on 18 March will be strongly influenced by the parties in the Federal Republic. "The parties that are not allied will fall down flat," Poppe said in a conversation with the German press agency DPA on election aid from the West.

In the conversation with DPA, Poppe emphasized that the citizens' movement in the GDR has, in particular, been affected negatively by this development. He recalled the groups that were the first to take to the streets and had contributed greatly to the peaceful revolution and facilitating for the first time free elections. In the parliamentary elections now "many people will be making the running who were not known before." Poppe regretted the fact that Bonn parties and politicians "are exerting such a great influence."

The minister sharply criticized Bonn statements that the GDR is insolvent and facing a collapse. "Statements of this nature are disastrous." They worry hundreds of thousands of people in the GDR, above all old people, too. He said that measures for the safeguarding of negative social consequences through monetary union, introduction of the Deutsche mark, company takeovers, and other things are urgent for the intra-German summit meeting in Bonn. "There must be no mass unemployment."

Concern Expressed Over FRG 'Takeover'

LD1102155990 Hamburg DPA in German 1530 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Government circles in East Berlin today referred to the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev's statement on German unification did not mean that the Federal Republic could occupy the GDR. However, if one follows the statements made by some Bonn politicians and their explanations in the Western media, then one gains the impression that the Federal Republic believes that it has now received the green light for a quick takeover of the GDR.

In East Berlin, it is emphasized in this connection that Gorbachev and GDR Premier Hans Modrow jointly held the opinion that a united Germany should be neutral. It is reported that during the past weeks Moscow and East Berlin have coordinated matters on German unity. Modrow also informed Gorbachev prior to the publication of his gradual plan "Germany, united fatherland" at the end of January.

Foreign Ministry Hails Release of Mandela

LD1102154890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR welcomes with deep satisfaction the release of Nelson Mandela, the leading South African patriot who had been kept in prison for decades. This was stated by Dr. Denis Ruh, GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman, to ADN on Sunday. The release is symbolic for the processes taking place in the country and is also a strong impulse on the way to the urgently needed fundamental democratic changes in South Africa society.

In such a process, which does away with apartheid, opportunities might present themselves that could lead to relations in various fields being developed between the GDR and a changed South Africa, the spokesman said. One precondition is that the restructuring in South Africa will result in a policy fully identical with the fundamental principles anchored in the UN charter.

Horn Accepts NATO Role for United Germany

LD0902193190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Canada is ready to provide wide-ranging economic support to Hungary. At the same time, it views the political and economic tension in Eastern Europe with no small degree of concern. This is what Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, who is now holding talks in Canada, told MTI. As he said, he told his hosts that the changes which are under way in Hungary cannot be reversed, and he trusts in success with regard to the other reform countries.

Gyula Horn asked Canada to mediate with the other Western countries on easing the Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] list of developed technology whose export is banned. The Hungarian foreign minister also said that our country accepts the NATO membership of a united Germany, if the current, eastern part is a weapon-free zone.

Government Repudiates Agreement With Romania

LD0902224190 Budapest MTI in English 1756 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed MTI in a communique about the fact that Deputy Minuster Bela Havasi presented a note on Friday to the Romanian Executive in Budapest in which the Republic of Hungary repudiates the Hungarian-Romanian inter-state agreement signed on July 14, 1979 on handling and preventing instances of dual citizenship, as of February 10, 1990. This lawful measure is justified by a relevant section of the agreement.

The communique says that the withdrawal has been necessitated by the disorderly situation of the several thousand Romanian refugees in Hungary. As well as Romania's refusal to seeking a common solution.

This measure of the Republic of Hungary serves the purpose of handling human rights, including the right to citizenship. In accord with the international norms as well as with Hungary's duties as prescribed in multilateral agreements.

The note also refers to the Hungarian side's readiness to promptly launch negotiations with the Romanian side in order to settle the questions pertaining to citizenship as soon as possible.

The Interior Ministry has also issued a communique. It says that in the agreement on dual citizenship, the sides undertook to grant citizenship to a citizen of each other's country only if he can produce a documer.t to prove that his other citizenship has ceased.

The repudiation of the agreement to acquire Hungarian citizenship parallel to preserving their Romanian citizenship. [sentence as received]

The interest of the Hungarian minority of Romania is that they should be given the opportunity to practice the human rights the individual and the minorities are entitled to in their homeland. It is to be expected that the several thousand Romanian refugees currently in Hungary will soon return to their motherland. At the same time, the Hungarian Government does not refuse to motion to the interim president of the republic via the Ministry of the Interior that the Hungarian nationality refugees who live in Hungary and are capable of integrating into society should be granted Hungarian citizenship in harmony with the relating legal provisions.

At the latest session of Hungarian parliament. Laszlo Kovacs, foreign secretary of state, announced that the Foreign Ministry had presented the Romanian side with a note on February 1, proposing the modification of the bilateral agreement which excluded the possibility of dual citizenship. During last year, the Foreign Ministry had made seveal attempts to modify the agreement, but this intention had not met the readiness of the Romanian side.

The new note was necessary as the second five-year term of the agreement was to expire on February 11, and should there be no proposal for its repudiation, the contract would come into force for another five years.

The February 1 note said that should the Romanian side not come up with a reply by February 8, or should they refuse to agree to the initiative. The Hungarian side would unilaterally withdraw from the agreement.

Government 'Concerned' by Romanian Demonstrations

LD0902233890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian Government is concerned by demonstrations in Romania which are organized against a recommencement of Hungarian-language teaching there. This was said by Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai in Szeged, after his talks with the leaders of the County Csongrad council on nationality issues. As he said, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry has information that the situation in Romania is strained to the breaking point. For this reason, self- restraint is necessary and Hungary would like to facilitate stabilization there.

Romanian Priest Laszlo Tokes Continues Visit

Interviewed on Romanian Events

LD1102172990 Budpest MTI in English 1644 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 11 (MTI)—During his Hungarian tour and before leaving for Bucharest, Laszlo Tokes, reformed priest of Timisoara, had held a sermon in Szeged, followed by an interview to MTI and the daily "MAGYAR HIRLAP" on new worrying news from Romania.

In connection with the anti-Hungarian demonstration in Targu Mures, he said he did not consider such manifestations typical. He said the malice and chauvinism of Romanians have "two strongholds" in Transylvania: Cluj and Targu Mures.

The Rev. Tokes says it is natural that the Hungarian community of Translyvania feels a strong desire to have its own schools, cultural institutes and associations after the period of long dictatorship, and it is not true that they are overzealous when it comes to the renewal of these. On the contrary, they are generally worried and ask each other whether their endeavors will not cause trouble.

The Timisoara priest considers it very likely that the animosity between the Hungarians and Romanians is being incited by surviving forces of the overthrown Ceausescu regime. 'After the peaceful enthusiasm of the first time, a choir of chauvinists has appeared who, taking advantage of the weakness of the central Romanian leadership, try to whip up sentiments.'

In connection with the renewed Romanian parties, the Rev. Tokes said he did not know to what extent they retained their historical continuity, but should they preserve their traditional formation and spirit, they would bring about only changes to the worse. 'The only right course of action I can perceive at the moment is supporting the National Salvation Front and its successor,' the priest said.

The Rev. Tokes said the withdrawal of Doina Cornea from the Front was a bad omen, and one of her latest communications—that the foreign countries should not support Romania until the establishment of 'a genuine democracy'—was 'a rather unfriendly remark', as the Front treated Doina Cornea as the noble lady of the nation'.

The Rev. Tokes said he had no doubts as to Ms Cornea's good intentions, but her anti-Hungarian statements 'are reinforcing the suspicion in us that her idea of the democratic rights to be granted to Hungarians is somewhat limited, in other words, she has different standard for the Romanians and the Hungarians,' said the Timisoara priest in the interview.

Comments on Visit

LD1002225890 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—The main purpose of my good will mission has been to advocate reconciliation and provide information on the revolutionary events in Romania, and the conditions and the situation of nationalities, said Laszlo Tokes, in summary of the objectives of his Hungarian visit, at a press conference in Raday College, Budapest, on Friday.

The Rev. Tokes briefed the press on his meeting with Hungarian state leaders and representatives of the various parties and nationality federations. He had also underlined at these meetings that it was the whole of Romania that needed political as well as economic help, since it is democratizing and developing the country that holds the safeguard for improving the life of the Hungarian minority.

He added that the measure of democracy will be in the equality of ethnic communities. He thinks that as regards collective rights, they are entitled to even more than equality.

The Rev. Tokes also said that he could imagine the future of Romania, including the nationalities and the Hungarian community, only in the framework of the European integration and democratic movement. To this end, his country needs moral and political support, rather than financial.

Asked whether he would accept the post of minister for nationality affairs, he said he had definitely refused the position. He would not like to head an immature institution, and puts his church "mandate" before anything else...[ellipsis as received]

Keleti on Cooperation With Romanian Army

LD1202021290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Interview with Colonel Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified reporter in the Budapest Television studio in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] [Reporter] Laszlo Tokes went to Romania today, and he was not alone in going there. He was accompanied by Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, who flew there overnight and is now sitting with me in the studio. What was the objective of this lightning visit, on your part?

[Keleti] Basically that we would like a personal meeting between the two ministers soon, that is, between the Hungarian and [Romanian] defense ministers. Thus, I took a personal message from Minister Ferenc Karpati, which is part of preparing for the talks.

[Reporter] I have read in the papers and seen on "The Week" program that power is increasingly slipping into the Army's hands. What did you sense?

[Keleti] I was in Bucharest a few weeks ago. At that time there was an enormous number of soldiers on the streets, there were tanks, there were control points. My impressions today were that these control points have ceased to exist; only around the headquarters of the National Salvation Front did I see some armored units. Even the defense minister's headquarters is not guarded by the 10-12 tanks, which were still there a few weeks ago.

[Reporter] Why is it important for you, or for us, that the two armies should be in such close contact?

[Keleti] I feel we have always endeavored to have close relations with our neighbors, and now there is an excellent opportunity for a true relationship of comrades-in-arms to take shape between the Hungarian People's Army and the Romanian Army, which would serve the interests of both peoples.

[Reporter] So there is no special need for this, owing to the political situation?

[Keleti] There really are interesting situations in Transylvania, as we saw on "The Week" program. I think level-headedness, tolerance is very much needed by both sides so that this antagonism which has developed through several decades, which was formed by one person, should be eased. I do not think it would be necessary for the Army to intervene, for this. Level-headedness, calm is necessary. Today I met Lajos Demeny and Geza Domokos, we had a friendly discussion. They, as well, profess this and would like to realize this.

[Reporter] Mr. Colonel, thank you for coming to the studio.

Trade Talks With Romania Concluded

LD1002094190 Budapest MTI in English 1952 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—Ferenc Spilak, deputy minister of trade, and Constantin Iurea, Romanian deputy minister of internal trade, concluded their negotiations held in Budapest between February 6 and 9 with signing a trade agreement on exchange of goods and trade along the border.

Under the domestic trade agreement, the two countries will mutually deliver goods, such as clothing and household articles, food and cosmetics products, worth nearly 2,000 million forints in the course of 1990.

This cooperation deal will give an increasing role to direct trade between department stores, trade companies and neighbouring areas.

Trade Minister Views Current Economic 'Crisis'

LD1002091690 Budapest MTI in English 1944 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Vienna, 9 Feb (MTI)—"Hungary has committed herself to a market economy and changed its economic political orientation. The results, however, can be expected to show only after many years. At the same time, these results can be reached only if Western countries provide a more active help." This was part of the lecture. Mr Tamas Beck, minister of trade, delivered in Vienna on Friday at a symposium of the East European section of BUSINESS INTERNATIONAL.

Mr Beck said Hungary's economy is faced with a simultaneous structural and financial crisis. Although in the course of the past three years, our convertible exports grew by 40 per cent, the currency loss produced by the population's travelling brought about a deficit of $1,500 million in the hard currency balance of payments last year.

While the country is capable of handling the transformation of the political system, tackling the economic crisis requires external help, Mr Beck stressed.

Horn on Soviet Troop Withdrawal Talks

AU0902152090 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Laszlo L. Lengyel; place and date not given: "Negotiations on Soviet Troops Withdrawal Have Begun"]

[Text] Negotiations on the withdrawal of Soviet troops temporarily stationed in Hungary began on 1 February. A few hours prior to the beginning of these negotiations, President Bush had submitted new proposals concerning the reduction of foreign troops deployed in Europe. We asked Gyula Horn about his evaluation of these proposals and about the prospects of Hungarian-Soviet negotiations.

[Horn] I think that President Bush's proposal is definitely positive. I would like to add that it coincides with the Hungarian ideas in many respects; it starts from the premise that the presence of foreign troops in Europe should be minimal. The proposal is also very important because it stipulates radical troop reductions in Western Europe as well. Previously, there was hardly any mention of such reductions in Western Europe. I would like to remind you that our state secretary recently made similar proposals in Vienna.

I am convinced that, after more than 40 years, the time has come to begin the genuine withdrawal of foreign troops from Europe because political, military, and other aspects no longer justify their presence. We start from the premise that nuclear deterrence remains on both sides, and therefore there is no need to also deploy conventional forces either here or in Western Europe. Naturally, this cannot be done overnight, but we must start on this road, and, in my view, the starting point is good. Thus, I can only welcome President Bush's proposal, and I am convinced that the Soviet side will also react positively to this proposal.

As for the Hungarian-Soviet negotiations, I am confident that these negotiations will end in a constructive agreement. Although various opinions appeared in the Soviet press prior to these negotiations, I think these are one-sided opinions that do not take the realities properly into consideration. For example, it is not true that the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is justified by military factors. I agree that we must consider the Vienna talks in the current negotiations, but these are not so closely related as was previously considered. Therefore, in my view, there is no military obstacle to a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. I also understand

that this is no easy thing, but if we are serious about the need to create a common European home, this also requires the elimination of the remnants of World War II.

[Lengyel] How do you regard the rumors on Gorbachev's possible resignation? In your view, what is the background of such rumors?

[Horn] For me, everything that appears in the West is of secondary importance. We consider the news coming from the Soviet Union to be of utmost importance. The Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership are confronted by extremely serious problems. Naturally, we are rooting for Gorabchev to remain in office. His personality could be the guarantee for the continuation of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union. At the same time, I think that the time has come to embark on genuine changes at long last. I am thinking primarily about the fact that the Soviet Union cannot avoid the introduction of a multiparty system either, a system that is the essence of pluralism. This is a much more difficult process in the Soviet Union as compared with Central-Eastern Europe, but, in my opinion, it cannot be avoided because, whenever it is implemented, the one-party system is bankrupt. Therefore, eliminating the remnants of Stalinism is inconceivable without eliminating the one-party system.

The other thing is that all the countries in Central-Eastern Europe have embarked on creating the conditions of a genuine market economy. It is impossible to thoroughly change the economy without market conditions, and this also relevant for the Soviet Union. Naturally, this is a much more difficult task in a big country full of contradictions, as compared to a smaller and more homogeneous country.

[Lengyel] It has recently been announced that a Hungarian Main Consulate will again be opened in Kolozsvar [Cluj]. This is the first concrete result of the negotiations held with the new Romanian leadership. What further steps does the Hungarian Government plan for improving bilateral relations?

[Horn] When we sat down to negotiate with the new Romanian leadership in Bucharest on 29 December 1989, we discussed the tasks objectively and comprehensively, and we agreed on the required actions. The opening of the Main Consulate is only part of this agreement, just like the issue of the Hungarian Cultural Institute in Bucharest. In addition, at this meeting we formulated several proposals and demands for multilateral development of our bilateral relations, to guarantee the rights of the Hungarian minorities in Romania, and to develop the contacts among the population. We offered our help for all these tasks.

In the past month, we have endeavored to jointly solve the aforementioned problems and to have at least a Romanian intention to act. We are aware of the serious problems facing the new Romanian Government, but we cannot waste a single day here. In this spirit, I wrote a letter to my Romanian colleague and asked him to deal with the bilateral problems in a constructive way, because it seems to me that progress in this matter is extremely slow. I think that there is primarily a need for a readiness for initiative on the Hungarian side, even more so because, in my opinion, there are still many people from the old apparatus around the current Romanian leadership, and these people are not keen on settling our bilateral relations.

[Lengyel] We are now facing elections. What major diplomatic steps and government-level visits do you plan in the period of time up to the elections?

[Horn] Naturally, we are also busy on working out how to participate in the election campaign. This primarily means ensuring the conditions for holding free elections. Consequently, we are limiting our international activity to the most urgent things. I myself will leave for Canada next week to participate in the ministerial meeting of the "23 of Vienna" and to answer the Canadian government's invitation. Premier Miklos Nemeth will visit Israel in the second half of February, and then he will visit the Netherlands. We are not planning more visits, but naturally we will receive foreign personalities visiting Hungary.

Szuros on Church-State Relations

LD0902012990 Budapest MTI in English 2100 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—In memory of the 41st anniversary of the unlawful sentencing of Prince Primate Cardinal, Jozsef Mindszenty, a Requiem Mass was held at the Esztergom Basilica on Thursday. The memorial service was held by Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, Primate, archbishop of Esztyergom, along with the high-ranking visitor of the Vatican, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state, heading a delegation—who spoke in Hungarian—and Archbishop Francesco Colasuno, apostolic nuncio and Archbishop Lajos Kada, secretary for the congregation for divine worship and the discipline of the sacrament. The message by Pope John Paul the Second was also read out during the service, which read: The participation of Cardinal Casaroli at the requiem is a sign that the pope himself is present at the service, held for the salvation of the deceased pontiff, and gave his apostolic blessing to each participant of the service.

In the course of the day, the square in front of the primate's palace of Esztergom was named after Jozsef Mindszenty. The celebration was also attended by the delegation of the Holy See.

In his speech, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, said:

"We have fulfilled our moral and conscientious obligation by renewing the relations between the state and the churches. Demolishing all the barriers that have imposed the independent operation of free churches, pressing

believers into a critical state. The state does not longer wish to interfere in the life of churches, and neither does it wish to intervene in the filling of various church positions. No state organ may practice such direction or control in the future over the churches and the practice of religion."

Regarding the revision of the Mindszenty trial. Mr Szuros had the following to say:

"Legal judgement of the trial remains the task of the supreme court. Without however wishing to impede the scope of the court's authority, it can already be stated at this stage that the trial of the prince primate and those sentenced along with him, was unlawful, based on false facts. The trial was the product of a dark age and evidently those planning and implementing this procedure were led by fraudulent political intentions. Cardinal Mindszenty was driven by exemplary reverence, moral self-confidence, who put high standards to both himself and others, and he was characterised by an anti- fascist, benevolent, patriotic attitude."

Having inaugurated the cardinal's memorial plaque, Mr Szuros said:

"Let us declare today that the Hungarian people, with a clear mind, makes moral amends for this outstanding figure of the Roman Catholic Church."

In his speech, Cardinal Paskai said:

"Jozsef Mindszenty loved his people, respected its history, and felt responsibility for its future. When he took word of the violation of justice, he raised his voice against the Jewish persecutions, the re-patriation of nationalities, and the kind of treatment that deeply violated human dignity. He was the only one to raise his voice for the ethnic Germans in Hungary at that time, against the internment of masses, against the absence of rights of Hungarians living in neighbouring countries, and the grave violations of ethnic rights." Cardinal Paskai said.

A Mindszenty memorial exhibition was opened at the Esztergom Christian museum on Thursday.

Cardinal Casaroli Continues Visit to Hungary

Nemeth, Casaroli Hold News Conference

LD1002061990 Budapest MTI in English 1445 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—As already reported, an agreement was signed in Budapest on Friday, by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state of the Vatican, on the re-establishment of full diplomatic relations. Following the ceremony, a press conference was held in the parliament building, by the two politicians.

Mr Nemeth recalled that ties between Hungary and the Holy See were broken off in 1945, following the Second World War, at the decision by the Allied Control Committee. Following the years of confrontation, the 1960s were characterised by the renewal of talks, and gradual rapprochement. The "Partial Agreement" signed between Hungary and the Vatican in 1964, opened the way for cooperation, expanding to several areas.

The new church policy of the Hungarian State is also significant in the re-establishment of diplomatic relations, and that a new law on freedom of conscience and religion is under elaboration with the active participation of churches, Mr Nemeth reported. A reference was made by Mr Nemeth to the fact tht it was the first time in Hungarian history that the state had renounced from practicing its "patron right" of intervening in the appointment of Hungarian church dignitaries.

Hungary is to be represented by an ambassador at the Vatican. And the Holy See is due to send a papal nuncio to Budapest, Mr Nemeth said, adding that the re-establishment of diplomatic relations may contribute to the success of the forthcoming visit of the Pope, due in September, 1991.

It was stated by Cardinal Casaroli that full diplomatic relations between the Hungarian State and the Holy See will not endanger the autonomy of the Catholic Church of Hungary, in the future either, what is more, it will promote its practice. The Vatican State wishes to contribute to Hungary's advancement, and better understanding between the people, the cardinal continued. It also intends to assist education, health and the better fulfilment of humanitarian tasks.

Responding to a question, the cardinal said: The Pope is planning to pay a full pastoral visit in Hungary, and its preparation is lenghty, requiring much coordination. The Pope is also due to make a brief visit to Czechoslovakia, where the ties of the Holy See were much weaker, where not even the bishop was appointed, and demand for the visit was great and pressing, Cardinal Casaroi concluded.

Sign Relations Documents

LD1002062590 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—Documents on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Vatican, were signed in the parliament building on Friday, by Prime Minister Nemeth and Cardinal Casaroli, following the ceremony, a brief speech was held by the politicians.

Mr Nemeth expressed his conviction that the agreement opens a new era in cooperation, provides new possibilities in the constructive dialogue between the state and the Hungarian Catholic Church, in the joint efforts based on responsibility for the nation. He spoke with genuine respect of Cardinal Casaroli's activity, looking back on a historic past, his personal merits in the development of ties between Hungary and the Apostolic Holy See.

In his response, the cardinal termed as one of the happiest moments of the long years spent in the service of the Holy See, the re-establishment of diplomatic relations.

In the course of the day, Prime Minister Nemeth received in his office Cardinal Casaroli. It was established during discussions, that the judgement of the international situation is the same or similar on almost all important issues. It was pointed out by Mr Nemeth that the recent New Year's messages by Pope John Paul the Second—in 1989 about minorities and in 1990 on environment protection—were met with full understanding in Hungary, and went on to say that the matter of the Hungarian minorities, living beyond the country's borders, is a priority issue in Hungarian foreign policy. Mr Nemeth also expressed thanks for past understanding and helpful intention of the Holy See, and requested the sympathy of neighbouring countries for the cause of Hungarian Catholics. In his view, the democratic transformation in Romania opens the way for free practice of religion as well. "We would welcome if a Hungarian archbishop were to be appointed at Alba Iulia, Transylvania," Mr Nemeth said.

The idea of opening theology departments at Hungarian universities was also discussed. The government requested the assistance of the Holy See in this regard, and proposes cooperation between the papal Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The view was shared on the necessity of surveying the possibility of specific financial and economic cooperation, Hungary would be ready to join—with food deliveries—the aid packages organised by the Holy See.

Szuros, Casaroli Hold 'Cordial' Talks

LD1002062890 Budapest MTI in English 1627 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest; February 9 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met in his office on Friday, Cardinal Casaroli.

The discussion, held in a cordial atmosphere, was also attended by Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Barna Nagy Sarkadi, deputy minister, head of the government's church policy secretariat, and Cardinal Primate Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom, and Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, apostolic Nuncio, accompanied by Archbishop Lajos Kada, secretary of the congregation of the Holy See.

Nemeth, Casaroli Exchange Toasts

LD1002094890 Budapest MTI in English 2100 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth gave a reception in parliament of Friday on the occasion of the restoration of full diplomatic relations with the Vatican after a break of 45 years. Present at the reception were members of the high-ranking delegation from the Vatican, representatives of Hungarian churches, denominations and religious congregations, as well as several political parties.

Before the reception, Miklos Nemeth and Agostino Casaroli delivered toasts.

The prime minister said he was convinced this important event expressed the mútual responsibility the two states had undertaken for peace, justice and the freedom of nations and people in Europe and throughout the world.

'I trust that the high level of relations with the Apostolic Holy See, the world centre of the Catholic Church, will contribute to Hungary's occupying a due place in the community of the peoples of Europe and the world. This important new development will open up new opportunities for a cooperation between the state and the Catholic Church, built on a common responsibility for our country, and contribute to enhancing the arrangements made for the Hungarian visit by Pope John Paul II.'

Cardinal Casaroli, secretary of state, was pleased with the wide reaction drawn from the Hungarian and foreign public opinion by the assumption of diplomatic links.

Then, Cardinal Casaroli said the Holy See was greatly interested in and sympathetic with Hungary's endeavours, as well as pleased that the Republic of Hungary was among the states that saw the Vatican not merely as a source of religious guidance, but also an advocate of the moral values that should be guiding the relations between states and nations, he said.

Skubiszewski on Soviet Ties, Reunification

LD0902185790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1736 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Report by Krystyna Koziol on news conference with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski following his return from the FRG; place and date not given]

[Text] [Koziol] In a statement at the beginning of the news conference, the minister emphasized the importance of maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union. This is a matter of state strategy, he said. At the same time, he added that we emphasize equality and sovereignty. We reject satellite status and set our interests according to the principle of reciprocity.

Facing the aspirations of both German states for unification, he said that we should have a German policy, not a policy for each state. In the future, when unification takes place, such a policy will be of equal significance to our policy and relations with the Soviet Union.

The majority of journalists' questions concerned the effects of the several-day visit by Minister Skubiszewski to the FRG, which ended yesterday, and in particular our attitude toward the approaching unification of the German states.

The minister presented the position of Polish foreign policy with regard to the plan for the neutralization of Germany put forward by GDR Prime Minister Modrow, from which the GDR prime minister has already partly backed off.

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] In the plan itself, I can see points that are unclear. In particular, it is not clear to me whether neutralization means [words indistinct] also a partial demilitarization of the territory of the future united Germany.

Let us assume that we have a united Germany which is eternally neutral or neutralized. This continues for one year, two years, three years. In a political (?crisis, it happens that) new forces make their voices heard. Germany is isolated because neutralization means isolation of Germany from various European links. In such a situation, Germany is acting on her own behalf. Forces are gaining power there which state: We are an economic power which can hardly be compared with anyone. Thus, an appropriate foreign policy should be adopted, and we should have appropriate military forces.

What will Europe do then? How will Europe react to this then? Will it organize some sort of a crusade against Germany? Will there be an ultimatum? Shall we have another conflict in Europe? One must think about the future. One must have a certain vision. I do not think there is any vision in this idea. I can see danger in this idea.

I am afaid of a single and completely independent German path. The Germanys should be incorporated into various European structures. We must be thinking today—and it is a long-term issue—about new European structures and about a new European security system, before unification can safely take place. Because of the geostrategic situation in Europe, it is very difficult to eliminate the two powers. In this respect, there will also be a visit to Moscow in the nearest future by Chancellor Kohl and by Minister Genscher, who will explain certain matters there; namely, they will explain certain circumstances which will provide the USSR with some guarantees and assurances, and they will show a path along which one should proceed, assuming that a united Germany can remain in NATO. [end recording]

[Koziol] I have been criticized, said the minister, for concerning myself a great deal with the problem of unification, but our stance in this matter has drawn the attention of many states to this issue.

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] I believe that we must approach this process of unification with certain conditions and certain demands and acquire German consent to these. That was the aim of my visit, my trip to Germany, and in this respect I am completely satisfied. I am not denying the link between unification and the border issue. I have spoken about this publicly in Poland, and I said very clearly, both to Minister Genscher and to Chancellor Kohl, that the starting point for unification is clarification and explanation, beyond any doubt, of the territorial shape, the territorial borders of the uniting German states, including Berlin. I received a very clear reply from Minister Genscher. We are joining together, which means the FRG, the GDR, and Berlin: nothing more, nothing less. The border remains. This is what I could ascertain from what was discussed about the matter on the trip to Moscow. It was understood right at the end of my visit, and there, too, that the issue of guarantees for the border on the Odra and Nysa will be raised for us in a positive manner. [end recording]

Views WWII Compensation

LD0902190890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] [Reporter] A meeting between Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and journalists took place today. Most of the questions concerned the reunification of Germany. There was also a question about compensation for forced laborers and concentration camp prisoners.

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] I received the reply that this matter is currently being studied by the ministries of Labor, Finance, and Foreign Affairs in Bonn, and that they are not yet ready to give a reply. We will ensure a reply is given in a reasonable space of time. In any case, the matter has taken off. We are going in such a direction as to create a fund, perhaps two funds, one in the FRG, the other in Poland. These funds would gather money in various ways and could then be distributed among those victims who documented their efforts. [end recording]

Silesia Nationalism During Election Campaign Noted

AU0802132590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Feb 90 p 3

[Zaneta Semprich commentary: "The Silesian Election"]

[Text] In some two weeks, on 18 February, the inhabitants of the Opole Voivodship in Silesia will once again go to the polling stations. Last Sunday [4 February] no candidate standing for the Opole seat in the Senate by-election secured the required majority (over 50 percent) of votes. The most votes, 39 percent, were cast for Henryk Krol, a veterinarian from Glogow. Professor Dorota Symonides, the Citizens Committee candidate, secured almost 36 percent of the vote. Some 221,334 people, only 31 percent of the eligible electorate, took part in the by-election.

During the election campaign, both Henryk Krol and Dorota Symonides placed great emphasis on their Silesian background, which goes back for many generations. The difference between them stemmed from their national identification. "I am a Silesian," said the Citizens Committee candidate. In the native language of Doctor Krol this is "Ich bin Schlesier."

After 45 years of trying to convince the world that everyone who carries a Polish identity card must be a Pole and that national minorities only existed in the prewar Poland, an important event has shown otherwise; namely, that in the Opole Voivodship Senate by-election a substantial number of the votes went to a candidate who represents the German minority—a minority that for many years has called for the right to have closer ties with German culture. The presence of people in our political life who come from different national backgrounds is no longer a big event. We already have a deputy from the eastern Polish borderlands who is strongly tied to Belorussian tradition and who considers himself to be a Belorussian. At long last we are beginning to remember that many thousands of Ukrainians live in Poland and whose existence in the Polish People's Republic was a taboo subject. However, the existence of a sizable and well-organized German minority now coming onto our political arena has different implications for Poles. Some Poles are apprehensive or downright frightened. Others have occasion for bitter reflection. It is a well-known secret that the children and grandchildren of the Polish Silesian insurgents, for years brought up in families that were steeped in Polish tradition and the Catholic faith, are today readily choosing to identify themselves as Germans. Is it just the material aspect that lies at the root of this phenomenon? Is this the sole reason why they reject the heritage of their forefathers and choose to regard themselves as Germans? With some people this is undoubtedly the case, but with many others this change of heart must have only come about when Poland, and the romantic longing of their fathers and grandfathers for so many past generations, only brought disillusionment, bitterness, and the refusal to be a true fatherland for them.

One must also consider the position of the most recently arrived citizens of the Opole Voivodship, people who settled in this region after the war. These are mainly people from the east, beyond the Bug River. They are also drawing on their own history and experiences. In the past, they have had to abandon their own homes, and for the last four decades the Polish media have fed them a diet of noisy demands coming from the former German settlers. It is natural that they are now feeling uneasy about what the fifth decade has in store, and some fear the fifth column, given the situation that despite the gestures of reconciliation, the FRG has not emphatically recognized the Polish western border on the Odra-Nysa Rivers.

All the above factors constitute the Silesian mixture, which one hopes does not become an explosive mix of nationalisms. There is hope that this does not happen. A democratic state has the inherent characteristics which enable it to harmonize the rights of all groups and circles for the greater good of the whole society.

Sejm Session Discusses New Interior Law

LD1002001990 Warsaw PAP in English 2309 GMT 9 Feb 90

["Sejm in Session"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 9—Starting February 9 the national emblem of the Republic of Poland is a white eagle with a golden crown on its head, with golden beak and claws, placed against a red background.

Law on National Emblem

The act of historical justice has taken place proving that Poles are able to defend things which constitute elements of their national and state identity, it was stated in the Sejm debate here today when Minister of State Piotr Nowina-Konopka substantiated the draft law on the emblem, on behalf of Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski, present in the chamber.

Although yesterday everything indicated that the sides had agreed on the emblem's design, the discussion in the Sejm today was very heated.

On the one hand, support was voiced for the emblem modelled according to the white eagle designed in 1927. On the other, one of the deputies demanded restoration of the cross to the eagle as a symbol of a sacrifice and some higher moral order. Another mp preferred the eagle from 1919.

Incident

Turning to the deputies on the left side of the hall, Deputy Jan Lopuszanskiy (OKP) said: I think this voting should be held without you. At that some of the Democratic Left floor group PKLD deputies (deputies from the former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], today either Social Democrats or Independent) got up to leave the hall.

Later on the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group OKP made a statement that Deputy Lopuszanski's stand is not that of OKP and that the caucus does not share the deputy's opinion.

Deputy Marian Orzechowski expressed concern about the incident on behalf of PKLD.

Law on Interior Ministry

Following a prompt adoption of the law abolishing retirement privileges of party and cooperative high officials, the Sejm discussed a new place of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the state.

The problem was covered in two draft packages, namely a deputy and government ones, which are largely convergent.

The drafts envisage formation of two separate organs: State Protection Office (intelligence, counterintelligence, protection of the constitutional legal order) and police. The apolitical services would be subjected only to the state.

It would be a precedence in Poland to form the so-called local police subjected to local self-governments. Presidents of towns would have the right to form municipal guards.

Liquidation of the Civic Militia MO and Security Service SB would follow from the changes. Elimination of SB, said Deputy Jan Rokita reporting on the deputy drafts, is connected with the need to cancel notorious confidential instructions in the Interior Ministry. The drafts, read for the first time today, take into account international standards in the sphere of protection of civil rights.

Interior Vice minister Zbigniew Pudysz, who reported on the governmental drafts, expressed hope that adoption of the legislative proposals will open up a new chapter in the history of organs guarding security of the state and citizens. The drafts will be considered by the Sejm committees.

The next three-day sitting of the Sejm is to start on February 22 and to discuss budget and economic laws.

Sejm 'Incident' Reported

LD1002002590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] And now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to pass on some information from PAP on an incident which took place during the morning Sejm debate, on the subject of changes in the [state] emblem. Deputy Jan Lopuszanski, turning to deputies to the left of the hall, said: I believe that this vote should take place without you, ladies and gentlemen. At that moment, some of the deputies belonging to the Democratic Left parliamentary floor group stood up to leave the hall. An agitated deputy, Teresa Czarnik-Sojka, expressed regret that the Sejm Speaker had not taken a stand on this attack against a whole group of deputies. It is all the more upsetting, she said, since the premier, who on two occasions had said here that a firm line would be drawn to the past, was sitting in the hall.

During a later sitting of the Sejm, deputy Henryk Wujec, on behalf of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Club [OKP], submitted a declaration that deputy Lopuszanski's attitude was not that of the OKP and that the floor group did not share the deputy's opinions.

A declaration on this matter was also submitted by deputy Marian Orzechowski. In it, he stated that this was not the first time that speeches violating the dignity of the house had occurred. Deputy Lopuszanski's speech was not only another negation of good parliamentary custom, but also a violation of Sejm laws and the dignity of the esteemed chamber. Such behavior should be clearly censured from the Sejm tribune. It was good that the OKP had adopted a declaration in which it had distanced itself from deputy Lopuszanski's speech.

Over 100 deputies of the Democratic Left parliamentary floor group and the Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth [PSL-O] submitted a letter to Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, informing him that, in connection with the behavior of Deputy Lopuszanski during the second reading of the draft law on the Polish Republic's emblem, national colors, and anthem, which had violated the dignity of other deputies, they were appealing to the Sejm Presidium to censure deputy Lopuszanski in accordance with Article 5 of the Sejm regulations.

Mazowiecki Contacts Paris Club on Debt

LD0902154890 Warsaw PAP in English 1250 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 9—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki sent letters to premiers of seventeen creditor states in connection with a meeting of the Paris Club to be held soon.

The premier called for the possibly swift taking of effective steps to solve the Polish debt problem.

Mazowiecki Arrives in London on Official Visit

LD1202104190 Warsaw PAP in English 1005 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb, 12—A special plane with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki aboard landed at London's Heathrow Airport at 09.00 hrs local time this morning.

The Polish prime minister, who is paying his first official visit to Britain at the invitation from Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, was greeted at the airport by Sir Geoffrey Howe, Lord President of the Council and leader of the House of Commons.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Deadline Viewed

LD1202120290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] I think the Soviet troops should leave Poland in the fall of this year, said Krzysztof Krol, member of the Political Council of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and chief editor of the KPN weekly OPINIA, to TRYBUNA [new paper that has replaced TRYBUNA LUDU; it begins publishing 12 February]. He went on to say that this deadline is entirely realistic and that he did not think the interests or prestige of the Soviet Union would suffer as a result of this undertaking.

In a statement for the same paper, Dr. Andrzej Karkoszka, a Polish expert at the disarmament negotiations in Vienna, Geneva, and New York, said he supported the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland gradually, and not earlier than three years. This must be a well thought-out decision that takes all external and internal conditions, and primarily the interests of Poland, into consideration.

Jaruzelski at UN Views Past Policies

LD0902001190 Warsaw PAP in English 2054 GMT 8 Feb 90

["I Am Able To Say I Erred, President Says"—PAP headline]

[Text] Geneva, Feb. 8—Nine years after the dramatic decision to impose martial law in Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski addressed the U.N. Human Rights Committee in Geneva. Following his speech in the Geneva Palace of Nations, PAP Geneva correspondent Marek Ostrowski talked with the president about that. Wojciech Jaruzelski said in part:

I try to approach the subject with full honesty. I am only human and my perception of these things is subjective like anyone's who takes in good faith such or other decisions. Therefore I wanted to present not only all reasons that guided me then but also voice understanding for those people who considered these reasons insufficient to take such decisions.

I respect these views but at the same time I think that life verified numerous things. History will assess that more comprehensively and objectively. But it is the final result that counts, I think. An important thing is that we have entered a road which has led to this day. And on the road there were also such things as the constitutional tribunal, the ombudsman, consultations, referenda and many other.

Therefore it is still very new, not worked out in detail in all aspects, not all things may be disclosed yet. I can hardly say more on the subject today.

It is still a difficult, painful problem for me but not because I want to steel myself in that I was right. I do no want to treat it as something unquestionable since I can admit, for instance, that only a year ago, I would say, I realized that the dogma, the doctrine on the leading role of the party is irrational, is unacceptable, that it is simply useless today.

I believed in it, I was convinced that in the conditions of this system the party with its special rights is as if a guarantor of that system, that it ensures realization of the mission, of course, when it is sound and acting in tune with its great idea.

However, it has proven impossible. On many an occasions we attempted the impossible. To put it simply, I think that every government has to take some unpopular decisions, especially on economic issues. At least they are such for a part of society or even a greater part of it.

And in order to make unpopular decisions it has two roads: The road of terror, dictatorship which was realized in the 1950's also in other countries and brought some effects, but which is absolutely out of question today, or the road of genuine democracy when the elected authorities, government have support of the majority of society and can carry out unpopular but necessary reforms.

I admit I did not understand that for forty years. Thus I would not hesitate to say the same about martial law but I see here that it is a much more complicated problem and today I cannot find yet other assessments of that subject.

On the other hand, I am convinced that not all things after martial law went in the way they could have, but there were also objective and subjective, external and internal reasons for that. There were great problems, there was a lot of primitive things, obstinacy, personal wars, that protective cover over various people who used it. Well, but it is the process of implementation which proceeded in that way and not otherwise, President Jaruzelski stated.

U.S. Secretary of State Meets With Roman

AU1102150290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0649 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Baker Roman Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/2/1990—Shortly after his arrival in Bucharest U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met with Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman at the Palace in Victoria Square.

The talks are attended by Dan Martian, secretary of the National Salvation Front Council, member of the Provisional National Unity Council, Romulus Neagu, deputy foreign affairs minister, in charge of the ministry's management, and U.S. ambasador in Bucharest Alan Green Jr.

Roman's Statements After Talks

AU1102150490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1228 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Statements"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/2/1990—At the end of their talks Premier Petre Roman and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker made short statements to the press.

The U.S. secretary of state said he came to Romania to encourage the reform process, free and fair elections, questions he approached during his talk with the Romanian head of government. He also said that he would meet the opposition as well.

In his turn Romania's Prime Minister said that the presence of Mr. Baker marked the beginning of relations between the two countries on new bases created by the revolution, by our new democracy. It is the first time that we can talk about cooperation on all planes.

Baker-Iliescu Meeting

AU1102150890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1405 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Ion Iliescu Receives James Baker"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/2/1990—Ion Iliescu received on 11 February 1990 U.S. Secretary of State James Baker who paid an official visit to Romania. The guest also had talks with Prime Minister Petre Roman.

The Romanian side presented the particuliarities of the Romanian revolution, the fundamental goals and measures toward stabilizing the political situation and settling the major socio-economic questions, democratizing the political, economic and social life, including the organization of free, democratic elections. In the context, reference was made to the role and attributions of the Provisional Council of National Unity.

The U.S. secretary of state welcomed the Romanian people's victory in toppling the former regime, and expressed his support for the actions taken by the new authorities on the road of renewing, of reforms, liberties and democracy.

The talks underlined mutual willingness to develop and strengthen political ties, to increase economic cooperation and exchanges between Romania and the United States, and boost their cooperation on an international plane.

Baker Meets With Students

AU1102151090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1445 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Baker Meets Students"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/2/1990—After concluding talks with leaders of some parties and other political groupings of Romania, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met with representatives of students in the Bucharest University Centre. On that occasion the U.S. official said in their opinion, as also asserted during the talk with party representatives, it was very important that the democratization process continued peacefully and equitably. He said the United States firmly backed such a process of free and honest elections, hoping that the government would provide conditions for the unfolding of elections in that way, the opposition being granted equitable chances in that process.

Party Leaders Comment on Talks

AU1102151290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1448 GMT 11 Feb 90

["Statements"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/2/1990—Here are the statements made by some representatives of political parties of Romania after their meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker:

Corneliu Coposu, leader of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants' Party: Mr. Baker set forth the U.S.A.'s firm viewpoint on the humanitarian support it will grant Romania, with no restriction, just as the other forms of assistance, including the investments it makes conditional upon the democratization of the country. The U.S. secretary of state showed interest in finding out whether in Romania there was an atmosphere favourable for elections. In connection with the date of holding the elections, it was unanimously assessed that the term was too short and it was imperative to postpone them for September. All the speakers agreed to that point of view.

Sergiu Cunescu, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Romania mentioned: In essence, during the talks with Mr. Baker, we approached the democracy question. Unanimous opinions were expressed that there were not the proper conditions yet for an effective development of democracy in Romania. First, because we had not yet the means needed to communicate with the whole country and to show what our opinions are on the programmes

and on democracy proper. We specified that our electoral campaign was in fact a school of democracy for a people that has been systematically depersonalized and misinformed. In order that the elections should unfold in genuinely democratic conditions, they required a propaganda that took a long time. That is why everybody agreed they should take place in September. If such a thing is achieved there will be bigger chances for democratic elections. The presence of the U.S. secretary of state here had a special effect thanks to his personality and the splendid way in which he pointed to the principles of democracy.

In his turn, Radu Cimpeanu, general secretary of the National Liberal Party, said: referring to Mr. Baker's statement, I must show I asked that a difference should be made between the humanitarian aid that must be immediately granted to the Romanian people and the support with implications which must be postponed till freedom and democracy are guaranteed, therefore till after the elections. I consider the humanitarian aid the U.S.A. announced as very good, very necessary and indispensible, but I also showed my wonder that it came at this very moment.

Baker-Tokes Meeting

LD1102184390 Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, February 11 (MTI)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker met Laszlo Tokes, reformed priest of Timisoara, at the Bucharest Embassy of the United States on Sunday.

For the sake of the meeting, at the request of the high-ranking U.S. diplomat, the Rev. Tokes had interrupted his Hungarian visit for a short time to fly to Bucharest on a private aircraft.

At the cordial meeting, Mr. Baker passed the message of appreciation of the President, government and people of the United States to the priest for his courage and steadfastness during the dictatorship, and also for his being a catalyst of the Romanian revolution.

During their talks—carried in English without an interpreter—the Rev. Tokes said tackling the nationality issue, including collective rights, was a crucial factor in the Romanian transformation.

In a statement, Rev. Tokes gave to MTI's Bucharest correspondent after the meeting, he said the U.S. secretary of state had referred to his country's advocacy of freedom of religion and the assertion of human rights, as well as free elections, and said they would grant the most favoured nation's status and stepped-up aid to Romania depending on the progress of these changes. Mr. Baker said the U.S. administration would like to delegate observers to Romania during the elections.

'To Mr. Baker's question, I said I also asked for support to Romania,' said the Rev Tokes. I said I consider tackling the nationality issue a key to the democratic transformation of Romania, with special regard to collective rights, since the documents passed since World War II usually cover only the subject of human rights, and give less space to collective rights. Granting the collective rights to the Hungarian minority is the basis for the assertion of their human rights. It is a pleasure that the Vienna Follow-Up Conference had taken a step forward in this direction, and I continue to request that the issue of collective rights be held in the foreground of attention.

'I stressed I consider the issue of the Hungarian minority in Romania a specific problem, to be tackled in the spirit in which Romanian pledges were conceived in the wake of 1918, in other words, the spirit of the self-government. Cultural autonomy is a minimum target in view of the realities. Finally I pointed out that it was only in the spirit of reconciliation between the Hungarian and Romanian nations that the nationality question could be settled, and I will set myself in the service of the cause of reconciliation.'

The Rev. Tokes left for Hungary to resume his programme on Sunday.

Baker, Tokes View Elections

AU1102151890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1201 GMT 11 Feb 90

["U.S. Secretary of State Baker Meets With Representatives of Political Parties"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/2/1990—One of the reasons I came to Romania is to do what we can to see that the reform effort continues towards fully free and fair elections, toward political pluralism and the establishment and due course of free-market economy, U.S. Secretary of State Jame Baker has told the journalists at the U.S. ambassador's residence in Bucharest where he met representatives of political parties, of student movements and of nationalities of Romania.

I have been talking with Reverend Tokes about the importance of respecting the rights of minorities and the importance of full freedom of religion, said Mr. Baker mentioning that "the betterment of the relations between the U.S. and Romania will depend upon full, free, fair elections and respect for human rights, and for the rights of minorities. The government officials told us that they were fully committed to this line." In the same context Reverend Laszlo Tokes said: I put an accent upon the reconciliation between Romanians and Hungarians. I have expressed that the key problem of the democratization of the Romanian society is the soul of the minority problem.

Mr. Baker said about Reverend Tokes that he was in large part "the catalyst for the reform movement we see under way in Romania, a reform movement that really we, I think, have to applaud and hope continues to move in the right direction." In connection with the most favoured nation status the U.S. secretary of state said:

We are reexamining now the most favoured nation status for Romania just as we are reexamining it with respect to some other countries in Eastern Europe. Whether we move to that will, of course, depend upon the circumstances, and I just mentioned, that is continued movement towards free and fair elections, openness, freedom and democracy.

At the end of the talks with those invited to the residence, James Baker stated: "It is very important that the reform movement continues to proceed forward, in a peaceful way and a stable way, and that the United States strongly supports full and free and fair elections in Romania." He also said: "It is very important that the opposition be given adquate access to the media and that the timing of the elections be such that the opposition is given fair opportunity to compete."

Iliescu Comments on Visit

AU1102174690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Report on statements by Ion Iliescu, president of the Romanian National Salvation Front Council, at the end of his talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Bucharest on 11 February—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] This morning, James Baker was received by President Ion Iliescu in the Parliament Palace. At the end of the meeting, Mr. Ion Iliescu made statements for Romanian Radio, answering the questions of our editor Teoharie Coca Cosma.

[Cosma] Mr. President, a few minutes ago you concluded your talks with Mr. James Baker, U.S. Secretary of State. I would like to ask you to tell us about the atmosphere of the talks and about the issues that have been approached.

[Iliescu] Mr. James Baker made a stopover in Bucharest. First, he held a meeting with the prime minister, with whom he discussed details of economic relations between the two countries.

I can say that during our meeting—during this reception—our talks occurred in a very relaxed and open atmosphere. We informed Mr. Baker about the current situation in Romania, after almost 2 months—or one and a half months—after the overthrow of dictatorship, about the problems that we encounter in the economic, social, and political life and about the new moment, the new opening, in our political life that has been brought about by achieving this agreement with political formations and the setting up of the Provisional Council of National Unity. We also approached the central political problem in the life of our country, namely the preparations for elections as a basic political task of the newly created council and the problems confronting our country, that is the government of our country. James Baker expressed the interest of the United States in the development of situation in our country and the interest in the openness of our country in the international arena and in developing bilateral relations between the two countries. From the very beginning, we took measures to remove certain barriers that were raised in the past years in our country's international relations, including the bilateral relations of our country with the United States of America. Mr. Baker underscored the interest of the United States for our political openness and expressed the Unites States' readiness to solve certain direct problems, including aid in supplying foodstuffs in the coming period. I believe that in general this has been a positive meeting, held in a relaxed climate.

[Cosma] Has the issue of the most-favored-nation clause been approached in any way or mentioned in any way?

[Iliescu] Yes, in the new context, he mentioned that they are ready to reexamine this issue probably during this year, taking into account the parliamentary procedures existing in the United States and the evolution of political life in our country, to help this new openness.

[Cosma] Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Baker Concludes Visit, Departs

AU1102151490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1026 GMT 11 Feb 90

["James Baker's Visit to Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/2/1990—In the morning of Sunday, 11 February, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker paid a four-and-a-half-hour official visit to Bucharest. The American chief diplomatist had interviews with President Ion Iliescu, Premier Petre Roman, with leaders of political parties and organizations of Romania.

Upon departure at the Otopeni Airport the guest was seen off by Dan Martian, secretary of the National Salvation Front Council, Romulus Neagu, deputy minister in charge of the management of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, by other officials. Present were Ambassador Alan Green Jr. and staff of the United States' Embassy in Bucharest.

National Unity Council Holds Session

AU0902160790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1443 GMT 9 Feb 90

["Session of the Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/2/1990—The first session of the Provisional National Unity Council opened in Bucharest. The proceedings were opened by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council.

The agenda includes the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council; draft regulations on the proceedings of the Council; a report by the government on the economic situation in the country.

Forty-five political groupings—25 parties and ten unions of the nationalities—were registered in Romania so far, which will enlarge the composition of the future Council.

Further on Meeting

AU0902173390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 9 Feb 90

["Meeting of Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/2/1990—A founding meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council is being held in Bucharest's parliament building near the Romanian Patriarchy. The meeting is presided over by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front [NSF]. Debates are frank, heated at times. A first problem that arose was the inclusion of the political formations established after February 1 into the Provisional Council. We remind that consensus was reached on February 1 on inclusion into the Council of the parties that had been established or were then being established and that attended the talks between representatives of political organizations and the NSF Council. There are participants in the debates who demanded that the parties established after February 1 be also included on the Provisional Council, whereas others say they should only be given observer status.

No agreement had been reached by the time of the first interval. A proposal had been advanced to put the question to the vote after interval.

AFP Reports Meeting

AU0902184990 Paris AFP in English 1721 GMT 9 Feb 90

[By Milan Dragovic]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Feb 9 (AFP)—Romania was set to enter the era of multi-party government Friday, seven weeks after the overthrow of hardline communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu. Former communists and non-party figures in the ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) began closed-session talks with representatives from more than 30 opposition parties to form a new administration. [passage omitted]

The talks began in the former Romanian parliament in Bucharest at 3.00 p.m. (1300 GMT) with an address by Romania's interim president and Front leader Ion Iliescu, who discussed the role played by the NSF during the overthrow of the Ceausescu regime. The negotiations between the Front and opposition representatives were expected to be prolonged, several opposition parties having recently urged a sharp reduction in the number of former communists or NSF supporters on the Provisional Council. [passage omitted]

The Front was to propose Mr. Iliescu for president of the Provisional Council, Culture Minister Andrei Plesu said shortly before the talks opened. A spokesman for the Liberal party, one of Romania's three "historic" parties, said his members would not oppose Mr. Iliescu's candidacy.

The newly-designated president was to hold a press conference after the meeting, official sources said. [passage omitted]

The meeting was to continue until an agreement was reached on the composition, functioning and role of the Provisional Council. The NSF Council would then be dissolved. The 180-member Provisional Council, acting as an inner parliament, is to be the country's highest instance until the holding of the elections which it will supervise. However some opposition members consider that the Provisional Council is likely to have only a legislative function, with no executive powers as had at first been announced by the NSF Council.

Earlier Friday the NSF, which had been widely criticised for keeping a stranglehold on power after the December 22 ouster of Mr. Ceausescu, held its last meeting to finalise a draft law on the structure and functioning of the Provisional Council.

It was by no means certain that the transfer of power would be smooth, according to some analysts. Spokesmen for the NSF and the various opposition parties all gave differing views on how the new body would operate. [passage omitted]

Provisional Council Established

AU0902185290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The representatives of the political parties and of the National Salvation Front Council met in Bucharest this afternoon in a meeting to set up the Provisional National Unity Council. [passage omitted]

It was announced that up to now 45 political formations, 35 parties, and 10 unions of the nationalities have registered, a fact that will determine the expansion of the composition of the future Council.

After lengthy discussions, a general consensus was reached on the way of setting up the Provisional National Unity Council.

The Council will incorporate 241 members. The parties that will be created in the future will participate in the Council's proceedings as observers. The proceedings continue.

Further on Talks

AU0902192990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1917 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Talks have been going on for almost four hours in Bucharest at a founding meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council. New proposals for the future law-making body are made by representatives of parties, but so far agreement has not been reached. Heated

debates are also going on on how the new parties should be financed to take part in the elections scheduled for May 20. Open approval or objection to the talks is given from time to time.

Agreement Reached on Composition

AU0902202390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1949 GMT 9 Feb 90

["Meeting of Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/2/1990—After controversial and passionate discussion in the first part of a meeting for the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council, representatives of political parties and the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council unanimously agreed that the country's new legislative body, that will function until the May 20 free elections, should comprise 105 representatives of the newly formed political parties and organizations, 106 representatives of the NSF Council, 27 representatives of the national minorities unions, and three representatives of the Association of Former Political Detainees, 241 members in all.

Also by consensus it was decided that representatives of the parties that will be established from now on be given observer status in the Provisional National Unity Council.

Iliescu Statement on Meeting

AU1002133290 Paris AFP in English 0059 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Feb 10 (AFP)—Romania's ruling National Salvation Front and representatives from more than 30 opposition groups on Friday formed a new multi-party body to govern the country until free elections next May.

After six hours of debate interrupted by two long breaks, the closed session talks between the NSF and opposition groups were opened to the press which heard NSF leader Ion Iliescu read the list of members appointed to the new governing council.

The session was suspended Friday and is to resume next Tuesday morning to elect the new national unity council's president. Reliable sources said Mr. Iliescu was the only candidate for the presidency and that his election was virtually guaranteed.

The Council is composed of 253 members with the following breakdown: 111 representatives from parties (three delegates for each of the 37 parties present); 111 members of the National Salvation Front Council; 27 representatives of national minority groups; 3 representatives of an association of former political prisoners; the president of the Provisional National Unity Council.

The debate Friday, portions of which were shown later on television, was often heated. Mr. Iliescu, however, appeared in charge, refusing to be cowed by opposition demands. When several delegates contested the National Salvation Front's list of candidates to the new ruling body, Mr. Iliescu responded curtly, "The National Salvation Front is not questioning your candidates and expects the same from you."

One point of friction was the demand by three major opposition parties to move the May 20 election date back. But the demand was turned down.

Mr. Iliescu, in a statement to the press, described the talks as a success. "The debate was positive, contradictory, often inflamed, but we have succeeded in reaching a consensus," he said. [passage omitted]

Sources at the meeting said the new council would control the government of Prime Minister Petre Roman, which might be widened to include some specialists but would otherwise remain unchanged.

Council Sets Structure, Composition

AU1002133090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0748 GMT 10 Feb 90

["Foundation Meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/2/1990—Representatives of political parties and of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council met in their first plenary session in Bucharest Friday which will operate until the May 20 free elections as a legislative and state power body, following the consensus reached on February 1. The newly created Council will set during the current session its composition and form of organization, and its way of work on a national and local level.

According to those agreed upon, the new body will include active participants in the December 22, 1989 revolution, scientific and cultural personalities, industrial workers, farmers, intellectuals, young people, students, ethnic minorities throughout the country as well as an equal number of representatives of the parties set up so far.

The meeting was opened by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council.

The agenda includes the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council; draft rules for the Council's work; a government report on the economic situation of the country.

Forty-five political groupings—35 parties and ten unions of the nationalities—have been registered in Romania so far, which means an enlarged composition of the future Council.

Debates during the founding meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council held in Bucharest's Parliament Building near the Romanian Patriarchy and presided over by Ion Iliescu, were frank, heated at times. A first problem that arose was whether the political formations established after February 1 should be included or not

into the Provisional Council. We remind that consensus was reached on February 1 on inclusion into the Council of the parties which had been established or were then being established, and which took part in the talks between representatives of political organizations and the NSF Council. Participants in the debates were divided over the issue, some saying that the parties established after February should be also included in the Provisional Council, other argued they should only be given observer status.

No agreement was reached by the time of the first interval when a proposal was advanced to put the question to the vote.

During almost four hours of talks proposals for the future law-making body were made by representatives of the parties. Heated debates were also going on on how the new parties should be financed for the May 20th elections. There were open approvals or objections to various opinions stated.

Representatives of political parties and of the NSF Council unanimously agreed that the country's new legislative body which will function until the May 20 free elections should compromise 105 representatives of the newly formed political parties and organizations, 106 representatives of the NSF Council, 27 representatives of the minorities unions, and three representatives of the association of former political detainees, 241 members in all.

Also by consensus it was decided that representatives of the parties that will be established from now on be given observer status in the Provisional National Unity Council.

Representatives of political parties and the National Salvation Front Council concluded their first session Friday night.

At the end of lengthy debates, held in a heated yet constructive atmosphere, the participants agreed on the structure and composition of the 253-strong Provisional National Unity Council where all newly created political parties, the NSF Council, minorities unions and the association of the former political detainees are represented.

It was agreed also by consensus that the representatives of the parties to be formed from now on be given observer status in the Provisional National Unity Council.

Late into the night the participants decided by a majority of vote to adjourn their session and to resume it Tuesday 13 February. To discuss questions regarding the election of the leading bodies of the Provisional National Unity Council and its concrete ways of work. [sentence as received]

In a brief statement to Romanian journalists and foreign press correspondents, Mr. Iliescu showed the importance of that first meeting and the unanimous agreement on the questions discussed.

Roundtable Talks To Resume 14 Feb

AU1002194890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1814 GMT 10 Feb 90

["Debates on the Electoral Bill"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/2/1990—The representatives of the political parties and groupings and the members of the commission working on the new electoral bill held another round table meeting in Bucharest, on Saturday.

According to the statements made by participants, a general consensus was reached on the basic principles underlying the new electoral law. On Saturday, tHe bill started being discussed by articles.

The next round table meeting on this theme is due on 14 February.

NSF Representatives, Parties To Resume Talks

AU1102173990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] During preparations for the elections on 20 May 1990, a new, and third roundtable talk was held yesterday [10 February] on the issue of the new electoral bill.

Representatives of political parties, political formations, and members of the drafting commission participated in the meeting.

In accordance with the declarations of some participants, each article of the electoral bill was discussed after a general consensus had been reached on the basic principles that will form the foundation of the new electoral bill. The next roundtable talk on this issue is due on Wednesday, 14 February.

The meeting of representatives from the various political parties and the National Salvation Front Council will resume on Tuesday, 13 February at 1100 [0900 GMT].

Discussions will be held on issues regarding the election of leading bodies of the National Unity Provisional Council and on the specific methods of this Council's work.

Intellectuals Demand Accounting of Securitate

AU0902163790 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 9 (AFP)—Forty-five Romanian intellectuals called in an open letter Friday for a full accounting of the past and present activities of the Securitate, the secret police of executed dictator Nicolae

Ceausescu. Charged with much of December's bloodletting, the Securitate has since been delegated from the interior ministry to the defense ministry, but officials have remained mute on the new role of the security force.

The front-page appeal in the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA was signed by the daily's editor-in-chief, Petre Mihai Bacanu, the poet Ana Blandiana, who recently resigned from the National Salvation Front, the philosopher Gabriel Liiceanu and the writer Stelian Tanase. They urged Romania's future unity government to reveal the current strength of the Securitate as well as how many of its officers have been removed and how many members were killed in December. They also asked how many buildings belong to the political police and their location.

Noting the many thousands of Romanians whose telephones were bugged, the group called for a public survey asking: "Are you afraid of the Securitate and why?" "Can we speak of victory and revolution if people are still afraid?" the letter asked. It also raised the issue of former Securitate members joining political parties.

The group of intellectuals called for independant commissions of inquiry, to include relatives of police repression.

100,000 Demonstrate for Magyar Education

LD1002190890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] There was an enormous demonstration today in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] for restoring Magyar-language education. (Istvan Erdei) reports from the scene.

[(Erdei)] This 100,000-120,000-strong protest and silent demonstration, at which people raised their voices for the Magyar language, for schools of the Magyar language, was held in several phases. Protesters held books and candles in their hands. Before setting off, the main organizers said they would not allow themselves to be provoked; they would not even hit back if they were beaten. Fortunately, up to now there has been no provocation.

The second rally was still going on when I asked Andras Suto to say a few words in the microphone for Hungarian Radio.

[Begin Suto recording] We wanted to demonstrate that the population of Tirgu Mures intends, in a disciplined manner, to make the country and the world know that it is a strong, powerful ethnic group [of Magyars] tha lives and exists here, and that it is entitled to all the rights for which it has now launched a battle. [end recording]

Munteanu Resignation Letter to Iliescu

AU0902174590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 9 Feb 90

["Letter of resignation" from Aurel Dragos Munteanu, president of Romanian Radio and Television, to Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front; date not given]

[Text] Mr. President, please accept my resignation from the position of president of Romanian Radio and Television. My mandate ends Friday, 9 February 1990, at 1200 local time [1000 GMT].

Allow me to remind you of the fact that I was appointed to this position in the first days after 22 December 1989, when my position as an opponent of the Communist Ceausescu regime was considered as a guarantee of moral rectitude. At that time, I said that I would remain in my position until 1 March 1990, given the fact that the situation of the revolution was uncertain and the terrorist attacks were claiming many victims. The problem of ensuring the functioning of the institutions was a vital one, which required a civic spirit of work from each Romanian; one could not foresee political ambitions and strife in those days.

The only statutory element I asked for was the assurrance that the radio and television would remain independent. My program was that of freedom of information for the Romanian people.

On my return from a visit abroad between 23-29 January 1990, I noted that the political and social situation had radically changed, with political passions and conflicts becoming almost unbearable. The declaration of the National Salvation Front [NSF] that it will turn into an independent political force has led to my withdrawal from the Front. That was done in the name of the objective position which each journalist and writer has to defend.

However, the unchecked outbreak of political conflicts would have led me to my current decision anyway, in spite of the fact that my attempts to resign from the position as president of the radio and television have recently caused statements of support to come from collectives of our institutions and from part of the public.

I thank all of you, and I also thank those who criticized me. In a true democracy, criticism or protest demonstrations—even if unjustified—are an absolutely necessary form of social and political awareness and action.

However, I am worried about something else altogether. So as not to be blamed of partiality, I will quote from an article signed by (?Francisc Maior) and published in TELERAMA No. 2089 of 26 January-2 February 1990, in connection with the inheritance left behind by the former dictator: Into the whole network of human relations he had injected a violent poison, which is far from being eliminated, namely denouncement and mutual

suspicion, regardless of how close the other person may be. In each word, in each glance, particularly in [words indistinct] one looks for treason and hatred; consequently, all personal relations are corrupted from the start and no ties and human contacts become possible, an infernal [word indistinct]. Everybody suspects everybody. Each individual is reduced to a savage loneliness, in a [words indistinct] of possible traitors. They are turned into wolves—actually not wolves, but rather jackals. I end the quote.

This diagnosis is hard to accept, even if it comes from a neutral author. I also said this during the period of dictatorship, when some of those who are speaking today on behalf of democracy and the revolution were members of the Communist Party and remained party members until 22 December 1989, when they abruptly changed their political convictions. I believe that the Romanian nation is one of God's wonders on earth and that it will find the moral energy to solve all its problems.

I want to add that it is not absolutely necessary for the revolution to devour its own sons. The American Revolution of more than 200 years ago, which created a Constitution that I have always admired and that has remained valid for all this time, is only one of the examples offered by history in this respect. I still hope that our people will not permit anyone to confiscate its liberty and to put the prerogatives of democracy to the use of some petty ambitions.

1,500 Demonstrate Outside TV Studios

AU1102212090 Paris AFP in English 1840 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 11 (AFP)—Some 1,500 Romanians demonstrated outside the television studios here Sunday demanding a "free television" and accusing the television of being a mouthpiece for the provisional government.

The protestors, carrying banners calling for an end to state censorship, accused the National Salvation Front, which took power after the fall of executed dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in December, of usurping the revolution that toppled the Ceausescu regime.

Demonstrations condemning the government's media policy and calling for the resignation of pro-Ceausescu broadcasters have been held almost daily for the past two weeks.

The demonstrators also demanded the reinstatement of Tourism Minister Mihai Lupoi, sacked last week after a row with Prime Minister Petre Roman and the country's new leader Ion Iliescu.

Mr. Lupoi, a former army captain, was the first member of the military to address the country on television after Mr. Ceausescu's fall, while the hated secret police Securitate were still fighting to control the television studios. The television, taken over by anti-Ceausescu activists during the December revolution, played a key role in drumming up support for the revolt and bringing news of its progress to Romanians and the rest of the world.

Brucan, Apostol Exchange Accusations

AU1002144990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Jan pp. 1,5

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 10 January carries on pages 1 and 5 a 1,000-word letter by Gheorghe Apostol, veteran communist leader and former member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. He claims in the letter that he had been the true organizer of the "Appeal of the Six"—an anti-Ceausescu appeal for RCP renewal issued in March 1989 by 6 veteran RCP leaders, including Silviu Brucan, current member of the Council of the National Salvation Front—and denying the accusations formulated by Silviu Brucan's in a television interview that "he, Gheorghe Apostol, one of the signatories of the appeal, betrayed the other 5 to the Securitate organs."

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 11 January carries on pages 1 and 5 a 500-word Corneliu Vlad interview with Silviu Brucan in connection with Apostol's letter. Brucan says that he was the one who had drafted the text of the "Appeal of the Six" and reiterates that Apostol has made a statement to the Securitate in which he "put the whole blame on me." Brucan adds that "there is a recording" and a "written deposition" of Apostol's statement, although "he does not know where it is, but the document will probably be found."

* National Salvation Front Election Plans Scored

90EB0233A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[Octavian Paler article: "The Illusions Lasted Only One Month"]

[Text] In 1945, when the Groza government was formed, I was 18 and was sick of politics. I was living the end of my adolescence hidden among books, without too much understanding for what was going on. In January 1990 I do, unfortunately, understand that history risks repeating iself, that this long suffering country may once again be robbed of its future. At the time, in 1945, the decisive factor was Vishinsky's fist. Whose fist is it to be now? We will find out some day. On Tuesday evening, a black evening for me, I was tempted to once again retreat among my books. What's the point, I said to myself. This world is not made for idealists. If I did not succumb to this temptation, or not yet anyway, it is because the Romanian revolution has erased even the boundaries of my solitude. It took me out into the street. It compelled me to go to the University Square and to be ashamed of my prejudices, to look at the youth braving the bullets there, and to ask myself: God, how could we think that we were a people doomed to suffer? How could I believe

that the Romanian youth had no ideals? Unfortunately, in the past few weeks I was right to fear what was being hinted at from behind the scenes. The confirmation came on Tuesday night. I watched in amazement the televised report of a meeting of the National Salvation Front [NSF] Council. I was amazed not only by the Front's decision to run for election, but also by the way in which the decision was made: by a hand count, as if it were any minor decision. Moreover, I had the anxious sense that it was all too reminiscent of the old Communist Party meetings. I have to confess that my illusions were shattered that evening. Now, as far as I am concerned, I tend to believe that the destruction of the revolution is now out from the behind the scenes and into the open. Whom can I reproach for this terrible disappointment and this bitterness? The truth is that some of the Front members stated long ago, as early as 31 December, when no party was legally registered, that the Front would run in the electoral campaign! It is our fault that we didn't pay attention and allowed ourselves to be led astray by declarations of other Front leaders who were assuring us—I wonder why?—that they didn't want to run and that they understood the provisional nature of their "movement."

I said "movement," because its leaders claim that it is one, although on what is their affirmation based? Allow me to recapitulate. When the first members of the current Council went out on the balcony of the former RCP [Romanian Communist Pary] Central Committee in the evening of 22 December, the Ceausescu dictatorship was ended. In other words, the dictatorship was toppled without the Front's participation. It was toppled by the country, by the people, who had spontaneously come out in the streets. The present leaders of the Front were summoned, in the power vacuum that was created, to deal with the actions of desperate men who were still loyal to the toppled dictatorship, and to administrate public affairs until the elections, as a caretaker government. No one suspected at that time that the Front which was improvised in the heat of events would one month later claim to be a movement. What kind of movement? As far as I recall, the initial list of council members announced on television featured less than 20 names, mostly solitary dissidents who didn't even know each other. But then the council expanded to over 140 members. How were they elected? The public certainly doesn't know. We could advance hypotheses. As any dictionary can tell us, a movement presupposes the organization of a large number of people behind an idea or a joint objective. What common idea can unite an eclectic, hybrid group in which, simplistically put, former dissidents sit next to former privileged members of the former regime?

The comparison with the Czech Democratic Forum is entirely gratuitous, because that forum played a decisive role before the toppling of the totalitarian organization; it was the impelling force of the velvet revolution, and it has the merits and characteristics of an authentic movement, which struggled for real change, rather than being the outcome of the change. The comparison does not stand up and was probably invoked for electoral purposes, to create the appearances of another kind of legitimacy than what the Front is entitled to. Not to mention how stunned I was by the comparison with Poland's Solidarity! Does anyone think that we don't know how the Solidarity movement was formed and what role it played long before the Mazowiecki government?

In fact, the Front assumed the duty of transitional political administrator within very well-defined boundaries. It was only later that the plot thickened, when the initial declarations were overstepped. During this period the Front sometimes evinced authoritarianism and sometimes weakness. Some of its actions engendered hope, others confusion. There were, indeed, signs that the Front was overstepping its limited legitimacy and was preparing an abusive succession by taking over organizations and even methods of the former Communist Party, but who thought that it would go that far? So far we have only talked of concerns. Now I feel a deep frustration. And to think of the wonderful prospects that the revolution had opened up for Romania! Our pure and bloody revolution. Within a few days we offered martyrs for an entire history, but it seems that we didn't have the good fortune that their sacrifice should be understood and respected by those who aspire to a restoration, because that is what the famous original path to democracy we're being told about, is: a sort of restoration. And I am not astonished that, after her admirable courage in confronting the dictatorship, Mrs. Doina Cornea refused to become the prisoner of a pseudo-democracy, in which the seriousness of the ideology that brought so much misfortune upon our country seems to play an important role. I wonder what will be the attitude of other prominent intellectuals in the Front, who distinguished themselves by their moral rectitude. Will they agree to lending their presence to the destruction of the revolution? Would it not be better to allow the professional politicians in the Front, or those whose ambition it is to become that, to assume that illegitimate identity that the FNS fabricated for itself in the shade of our euphoria and the concerns created by it?

Some may ask me why I have suddenly become so pessimistic. After all, the elections are still ahead of us. Well, here is why.

First of all, isn't it true that any political force that followed the revolutionary wave would have abrogated Ceausescu's laws and endeavored to pull the country out of the disaster caused by the dictatorship? And isn't it true that the NSF turned this duty, which was only logical and in line with common sense, into its own electoral capital? Getting rid of Ceausescu traces is not a Front initiative. It is one of the major demands of the revolution and should not be arrogated by anyone. I hope I won't be misunderstood: I do not deny the work carried out by the Front, nor do I question it. I am only protesting against turning a duty entrusted by the revolution into unilateral electoral capital. The way things

look now, this is a strange paradox. I fear that the elections will be fraudulent even if the votes are counted correctly. This is the main reason for my bitterness after Tuesday's theatrical coup. The FSN was practically campaigning even as its leaders were assuring us that they had no political intentions for the future. They seized the opportunity of becoming popular by giving interviews, talking to the country about their work, while the unfortunate leaders of the political parties enjoy only the boring situation of orators desperately trying to call attention to their political platform. Along this line, there is one detail (or is it just a detail?) I find revealing, namely that the director general of the Radio and Television is a NSF Council member, and even its spokesman. So how free is the free Romanian Radio and Television? In short, without any other legitimacy than that of stopping a power vacuum, the NSF is increasingly transforming its provisional mandate into an overt means of installing itself in power, making it difficult for the political parties to have a real dialogue with the country. Actually, the fact that it is concerned about future problems may be an indication of the curious idea the Front has about democracy and about respecting its initial pledges. It is saying what it wants or doesn't want before allowing the country to say what it wants. This practice seems to remind us of familiar things. When will we see a Western-type democracy in Romania? When the cows come home?

Secondly, many ask themselves: OK, if not the Front, then who? I may try to advance a few theories at some other time. What I want to say for the time being is that the candles lit on the altars of our martyrs may have to be lit on the grave of the revolution, and that if for now other paths may seem unsafe, the path that the Front has taken is for sure dangerous. I hope to be wrong, but I fear it risks leading us to the restoration of the sole party in different forms, and to the possibly final loss of Romania's opportunity to become a truly democratic country. Whatever the case, remember the evening of 23 January 1990, because it may become the beginning of the end of the Romanian revolution. Our illusions lasted only one month.

SFRY Applies for Council of Europe Membership

LD0702204690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1721 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Strasbourg, Feb 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia today submitted an official application for membership in the Council of Europe where it has the status of special guest as of late last year.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar initiated the procedure for Yugoslavia's full membership in the Council of Europe in mid- November 1989 during his visit to Strasbourg. Loncar recalled this fact in letter submitted today to the president of the council's Parliamentary Assembly Andreas Bjork and Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere.

Yugoslavia is the first socialist country to begin cooperation with the Council of Europe, an association which rallies 23 West and Central European countries. A speech in Strasbourg in 1976 by the then Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milos Minic was noticed at the time.

Yugoslavia wants to become an associate member of the European Community, a member of the European Parliament and to establish a trade zone with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries.

Assembly Discussion of Kosovo Continues

Drnovsek Address

LD0702185490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Speech by SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek at the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Comrade delegates, comrade president, allow me to brief you on behalf of the SFRY Presidency about the situation in our country and the most important issues concerning international politics. Considering that we know very well that this building has simultaneous translation equipment, I would like to read my speech in Slovene and hope that there will be no objections to this.

The ten-year period of economic and political crisis is manifest in the long period of economic stagnation, including decline in economic activities, the increasing growth of inflation, and general instability in economic life. During the recent period extensive changes in the economic system have been implemented which are aimed at reducing state control and increasing the market and entrepreneurial freedom of economic subjects. The processes have begun of depoliticizing the economy and the banking system, in particular, including the National Bank of Yugoslavia, which should become an institution which primarily watches over the stability of domestic currency and is not concerned with the redistribution policy. In the course of last year, the ever-increasing inflation, which developed into hyperinflation, began to pose a threat to the foundations of the economic system, the processes of its transformation toward greater efficiency, and the general stability of economic life and life in general in the country. The SFRY Presidency has therefore called on the Federal Executive Council [FEC] to begin the drafting and realization of a program which would halt the increasingly powerful inflationary trends.

The package of measures proposed by the FEC at the end of last year was supported in practical terms by the SFRY Presidency with the adoption of a series of temporary measures for those laws which, in the short period of time available, were not coordinated in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly. In the proposed measures we consider establishing the dinar's convertibility as an exceptionally important, even historic, step in economic thinking and, at the same time, the basis of our further opening to the world and integration with the world within the framework of international economic and financial regulations. Considering the exceptional complexity of bridling any hyperinflation, we believe that the first results of the package of measures are encouraging and that we should firmly insist on its continued implementation, including possible amendments where necessary.

We must not miss a great opportunity and responsiblity on this occasion to finally deal with inflation and establish the conditions for the continuation of all economic reform processes and the conditions for new economic growth, on this occasion on a market basis. In so doing firm monetary policy mujst be ensured, with the result that the SFRY Presidency supports the Yugoslav National Bank in its efforts to become independent of all political factors and stresses its paramount responsiblity to secure the stability and the convertibility of the dinar.

We are implementing the current stage of our economic stabilization predominantly with our own forces and resources. During the next stage, which includes both an improvement of our banking system and the gradual revival of our economic activity on the basis of investments under new and more stringent market conditions, we must reckon on wider involvement of international financial institutions' financial resources. In particular we expect that the reestablishment of price stability and our currency's convertibility will establish the conditions for stronger involvement of resources on the basis of direct investments by foreign and domestic investors. Already during the current stage of the preparations of our economic program we involved top domestic and foreign experts; we believe that this practice must prevail in the future, too.

Price stabilization, the dinar's convertibility, and strict compliance with economic criteria in our economy is a necessity without which there is no worthwhile exit from the present situation. However, we are aware that the aggravated conditions of our economic activity require previous or simultaneous improvement of the sectors of the economy under the biggest threat. This improvement

effort must be based on new ownership relations which will intensify the responsibility for economic management and for our development and which will also represent the final end to direct political intervention in the economy because the chaotic economic position is often precisely the result of the economy's constant politicization.

As before, the SFRY Assembly will continually monitor economic trends and give the FEC and the National Bank of Yugoslavia the support they need to persevere on the established course, demanding at the same time that they constantly implement the set tasks and also achieve the planned results.

On the iniative of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, the SFRY Presidency has been preparing for a long time an initiative for changing the SFRY Constitution and proposing a new SFRY constitution. The SFRY Presidency recently submitted its initiative to the Federal Chamber. The SFRY Presidency was preparing the initiative at the time when many problems in the country accumulated which are the consequence of the long political and economic crisis and which required new political and economic solutions, both in the SFRY Constitution and in our legislature. In addition to this many dilemmas have arisen the solving of which required a certain amount of time and for which a general Yugoslav consensus was gradually becoming ripe. In some places it is already ripe while in others dilemmas are still open and should be resolved in the period ahead of us. We submitted a suitable proposal for this to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

We proposed solutions to a series of questions which are clear and which we consider to be acceptable to a large degree for all our republics and both provinces. This particularly applies to the principles of the political system for which we envisioned an unhindered development of political pluralism, including the multiparty one, proceeding from the increasingly dominant thesis that no one can have a previously ensured monopoly of power in the constitution, but that people's trust must be gained in the course of free elections and reaffirmed during each subsequent election. Free political association will be ensured, as well as legal realization of different political interests through the assembly system.

In the economic sphere, the new constitutional proposals represent the continuation of reform processes already begun and implemented and the further strengthening of a market economic system which should fully affirm our people's entrepreneurial initiative and creativity, with the state having an indirect role with instruments of macroeconomic control, but without administrative and political intervention or redistribution. We should also ensure the equality of all forms of ownership, with certain questions of the future transformation of social ownership remaining open for further debate, in order to guarantee the greatest possible efficiency and accountability of its specific owners.

Proceeding from the universal importance of the realization and protection of the individual rights of man, we devoted particular attention to this issue in our proposal, with the aim of providing all mechanisms for the protection of the individual rights of man which have emerged in practice both in this country, and of course in the world. With regard to this issue there have so far been no differences, and I consider that there exists complete readiness in future discussion as well, to introduce into the new constitution all possible amendments and improvements which would mean the real and comprehensive protection of the individual, including from abuse by institutions or representatives of the state.

In the drafting of our constitutional initiative it transpired that the greatest number of open issues and dilemmas exist in the section on relations in the federation. The SFRY Presidency drafted its constitutional initiative on the basis of prior consultations with all presidencies of the republics and provinces. It was not possible to coordinate all of their proposals to the extent where we could claim that at the stage of the SFRY Presidency's initiative a degree of prior coordination was achieved which would ensure a fairly uninterrupted process of further adoption of the new constitution. The Presidency therefore believed that with regard to these issues our proposal should not be closed in one direction, but that dilemmas still existing should be resolved and solutions should take shape in further debate.

This is why several alternative solutions have been put forward—for instance in connection with the status of autonomous provinces, and especially so in connection with relations between the republics and the federation. In this context, in addition to the basic proposal, we incorporated into our initiative the proposal concerning the settlement of reciprocal relations in the federation put forward by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and presented, as their independent alternative expected, that a discussion will open about these issues in all the republican and provincial assemblies and that during further proceedings there will be enough opportunities for a final accord which will be accepted by everyone.

Draft amendments to the existing SFRY Constitution have been proposed recently, both by the FEC and by individual republics. These are draft amendments which, in the proposers' view, cannot wait for the procedure of adopting the new constitution—some issues have to be settled before that. The FEC proposes that constitutional amendments should be passed under the shortened procedure which will make possible further implementation of outlined economic reforms and also enable political pluralism to come to life at once. We believe that it is necessary and rational that these most urgent changes be adopted under the amendment procedure, while the proposal for the adoption of the new SFRY Constitution can be discussed and adopted by the republican and provincial assemblies under a normal procedure during which the issues on which major differences still exist can be resolved.

In addition to constitutional changes, changes are under way concerning some rather important laws as well, among which we could perhaps draw attention to the legal settlement of political association and changes to the criminal law which already are under assembly procedure. In the past the SFRY Presidency has on several occasions expressed the view that some articles of the criminal code, which are not precise enough and which for some time now have been a topic of critical debate in our public, have to be changed. According to proposed changes any expression of differing views and political activity will be allowed within the framework of our system's institutions which represent an attempt in a peaceful way and in a democratic manner to resolve accumulated differences, even when in doing so entirely different views are expressed.

Comrade delegates, recently relations between our republics and our nations and nationalities have deteriorated to an extreme degree.

Since there were no timely changes in the economic and political system which would have led to an increase in economic efficiency and more successful political activity, and this would have indicated a way out of the crisis, mutual mistrust increased and the blame for the situation was laid on other republics, nations, and nationalities. This resulted in greatly exacerbated relations, even enmities which exceed all normal proportions for relations between different countries, let alone between republics within the framework of one country. National emotions are increasingly being let loose, nationality is being placed above all else, and is becoming more important than democracy, economic success, and individual human rights. Political and economic goals are now often used only as yet another instrument in the mutual struggle between different republics or nations and nationalities. Such relations are reflected in most sociopolitical organizations and are exaggerated in an extreme manner by the public media.

We must halt this negative process because it has reached an extremely dangerous point beyond which it can no longer be overcome and beyond which no one can guarantee that present relations will not be transformed into the most radical mutual conflict. We believe that objective conditions have not been established for us to halt and reverse such a negative trend in mutual relations. After many years of stagnation, after inability to find either a political or an economic way out of the crisis, in the past few months we have nevertheless started reform processes which indicate an acceptable way out for all our nations and nationalities.

The general human values which are increasingly gaining the upper hand in the democratic world—respect for individual human rights, respect for different views, respect for members of all other nations and nationalities, and incorporation into neutral economic mechanisms which will tie us both with the overall Yugoslav market and the common European market, and through it with the world market as well, must become a factor of integration among our nations and nationalities. Intensive integration processes and a search for a common European home are unfolding in Europe. European confederation is being mentioned and we believe that our future, too, is within the framework of this European integration. Of course, in this context all of our present interethnic conflicts and emotions are becoming even more pointless.

The SFRY Presidency demands and proposes that all conflicts between our republics cease, that republican leaders sit down and talk about all outstanding issues—without any preconditions, without reciprocal insults and shifting the blame on someone else. Many of the present reciprocal disputes are a result of earlier processes and past protracted crisis. Going into and sorting out who is responsible for what and who started it will not take us anywhere and will only amount to further dilution of energy and time.

Above all, we demand that all state organs immediately cease all activity which heightens reciprocal republican conflicts and that they operate objectively and rationally. We demand that media attacks which are devoid of any argument and dissemination of assorted half-truths and untruths about other republics cease.

The SFRY Presidency explicitly calls on all social and economic subjects not to be taken in by assorted political influences, including those which are based on interrepublican and interethnic clashes. Continuing the dialogue which they had already begun, the leaderships of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia should clarify their outstanding problems and stop the pointless reciprocal political and eoconomic reprisals and blockades.

The latest events in Kosovo have made us reexamine with particular attention the circumstances in Kosovo and reopen the discussion about our policy on Kosovo. It is obvious that the situation there has not improved lately. All the phenomena in Kosovo and all the consequences of the long-lasting crisis—which has been shaking our country for a long time—are manifested with additional violence. In January 1990—despite the explicit ban by the SFRY Presidency—there were mass demonstrations, work stoppages, and cases of violence throughout Kosovo. According to the Presidency's assessments these demonstrations had the characteristics of Albanian nationalism and separatism.

The SFRY Presidency continually monitored the state of emergency and insisted on the consistent implementation of the measure which remained in force and on the application of new measures. The request of the SFRY Presidency of 29 January 1990 to immediately halt demonstrations and work stoppages, as well as all forms of violence and threats to personal amd material security in Kosovo was not met with understanding and support. On the contrary, the situation in the province continued to deteriorate.

All of this caused great concern and bitterness in Serbia and in other parts of the country and intensified demands that the state should intervene using all available means. There were also cases of self-organization among the Serbs and Montenegrins both within and outside the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, as well as cases of the evacuation of women and children and new cases of emigration, which can be understood as an expression of lack of trust in the functioning of legal organs. This paved the way for fresh and even more serious interethnic conflicts.

For this reason the SFRY Presidency decided to resort to more effective measures, that is, measures which would ensure the end of gatherings and demonstrations with outbreaks of violence, establish public peace and order, ensure personal and material safety of threatened citizens, and protect buildings and roads of particular social interest and settlements in which Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of other nations and nationalities are living.

Evaluating the situation, and at the suggestion of the federal secretary for defense, the SFRY Presidency adopted among other things the decision that the units of the Yugoslav People's Army should organize and carry out planned and, if necessary, special exercises and movements on the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. These activities were aimed at calming the situation, discouraging any violence and terrorism, and thereby having a pacifying effect both on Kosovo and on the country as a whole.

Last week the FEC also gave you a full report on the situation in Kosovo and the measures taken within its powers which should mark the beginning of a fundamental resolution of the problems in Kosovo. I do not, therefore, want to speak particularly about that. It is now our task to isolate extreme approaches and to propose an approach to the resolution of the Kosovo problem which will be acceptable to all of Yugoslavia. Such an approach could be founded on the following points:

1. The SFRY Presidency wants to stress on this occasion, as well, its determination and responsibility to defend with all the means at its disposal the SFRY's constitutional order and integrity and to guarantee our country's further democratic, economic, and social transformation in peace and without pressures.

2. The intervention of state organs is necessary and will be applied as a reply to acts of violence which threaten the constitutional order and when it serves to prevent interethnic conflicts. The security of the members of every nationality must be guaranteed and this will prevent the various forms of pressure on them to emigrate. We must ensure the functioning of the law-governed state's institutions, and thereby order and peace in Kosovo.

3. The intervention of state organs must be fair. There must be no cases of abuse on the part of members of the state organs even in the most exacerbated conditions. The SFRY Presidency has already announced that commissions will analyze all cases of victims and the injured in the latest events in Kosovo and inform the public of possible abuse of power and of irregularities. We also call on all the citizens of Kosovo to help the state organs in solving the complex situation in the province and help alleviate their tasks. Several times so far we have warned of the particular importance which the independent and timely action of legislative organs has in such complex circumstances.

4. When the situation in Kosovo calms down, the SFRY Presidency will be in a position to lift the emergency measures which are now in force. It will do everything in its power to guarantee permanent safety for all citizens in Kosovo, and the state will intervene again if the violence and threats to the safety of Kosovo citizens escalates, that is should the danger of interethnic clashes arise.

5. In order to solve the situation in Kosovo it is necessary to restore trust between members of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo, between Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins and others who once lived together as good neighors. Of course, there cannot be a stable and peaceful solution to the Kosovo problem if we suppose that only the state organs will ensure the safety of all citizens in Kosovo. There is a need to open a dialogue with all of its citizens who wish to solve the problem in peace and who wish to live together in both Kosovo and Yugoslavia. There is no place in this dialogue for violent nationalists who give priority in all matters to national belonging and who subject all of their activity to nationalism. We propose a dialogue to all those who accept the logic of reason, who are aware of the fact that problems cannot be solved by force, and who are prepared to become involved in the Yugoslavia's further development on the basis of the political and economic goals of the reform.

Realization of the political and economic program which we are offering will create objective conditions for the solution of the Kosovo problem. Such conditions should permit the cooperation of all political parties and associations on the condition that their activity will not lead to the further deepening of interethnic divisions and the violent destruction of the existing constitutional structure, but rather to the search for coexistence and a common peaceful life in Kosovo. We anticipate that within the framework of further democratic transformation of our political system there will be further development of forms of democratic and pluralistic solutions to the problems in Kosovo as well.

6. The responsibility of the provincial, republican, and federal organs lies in the search for a different developmental concept for Kosovo which will not, as previously, lead to emphasis of the national factor, and to increasing divisions on a national basis and new interethnic conflicts in Kosovo. Kosovo's potential should be directed toward seeking development opportunities which will secure its own existence within the framework of which people will not be occupied only with irrational national

issues, but with objective economic and other social development problems of Kosovo. We will consistently respect the principles of equality of our nations and nationalities, which of course means that in Kosovo no one nation or nationality should find itself in a subordinate position.

7. The successful implementation of the present economic program should ensure the stabilization of the whole Yugoslav economy and, as a part of that, the economy of Kosovo as well. The bases are being created for a new and stable economic growth. In the period ahead of us we will be able to activate a new development cycle which will make possible the reduction of social tensions throughout the country and particularly where they are greatest, in Kosovo. The new economic activities should redirect the energy presently being spent on irrational nationalisms toward activities which will ensure a better life in the future. In this framework the SFRY Presidency has already called on the FEC to draw up a new economic program for Kosovo.

We have proposed that in the drafting and implementation of the new development program for Kosovo, which will also include solutions to the problem of the demographic explosion, international financial and professional institutions, particularly the World Bank, should be involved. Certain activities which should ease Kosovo's position are already underway. Thus, for example, as part of the recovery program for the whole financial system, priority is given to the recovery of Kosovska Banka, which should represent a basis for the financial consolidation of the entire Kosovo economy. It is also necessary for all work stoppages which are presently blocking the Kosovo economy and hampering its consolidation to cease.

Comrade delegates, in the previous period there have been positive shifts in the development of international relations. We support the orientation toward dialogue, the intensification of the disarmament process, and the creation of conditions for the democratization of overall international relations and equitable international cooperation.

Apart from the orientation toward the stabilization and strengthening of the SFRY's international position, our foreign policy in the past period has been characterized above all by two basic activities: the chairmanship of the nonaligned countries and involvement in the intensive currents of European integration. With the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, even greater emphasis has been placed on the orientation which prevailed at the ninth conference of the nonaligned states in Belgrade, with the reduction of interbloc confrontations and the introduction of new and increasingly intensive forms of cooperation and negotiation between the bloc groupings, for priority to be given to the economic relationship between the north and the south as an unresolved problem. Our activity within the Nonaligned Movement was thus aimed primarily at introducing new forms of dialogue between the north and the south, while trying to make a concrete contribution as well to the solution of certain specific political crisis points in the world—the Middle East crisis, the Iran-Iraq dispute, Namibia, and others.

Our diplomatic corps has taken a very active part in the preparatory meetings of the group of 15 countries which is to meet in June of this year with the aim of jointly assessing the development problems in the world, the possibilities of a new north-south dialogue, and the concrete activities which the developing countries themselves can carry out. We have also actively participated in the activities of the so-called group of five countries—Yugoslavia, India, Egypt, Venezuela, and Senegal—which has established direct contacts with the representatives of the seven most developed countries with the aim of achieving a new summit meeting between the group of most developed countries and the group of representatives of the developing countries, where an attempt would be made in direct dialogue to find directions for resolving the world's most acute development problems—from the debt crisis to the financing of development and ecological problems. Despite our great efforts to resolve our own problems, we are also endeavoring to execute our office of chairman in the Nonaligned Movement correctly and in accordance with the confidence which has been placed in use by the movement's member countries.

The events of recent months in Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary have changed the picture in our immediate vicinity. The democratic content of these changes, regardless of the difficulties which are understandable in such tumultuous events, is making room for richer and comprehensive bilateral cooperation. Our cooperation to date with all our neighbors, regardless of the fact that it was proceeding at differing levels, provides solid foundations for new forms of multilateral regional cooperation.

At our initiative multilateral Balkan cooperation has been taking place for the third year running and is taking on institutionalized forms. Extensive activity is being realized through the Alpe-Adria Community. The cooperation of the Danube basin countries has been given impetus with new projects. The developed Yugoslav-Italian cooperation is facilitating important activities in the framework of the Adriatic initiative, which is likely to be joined by Greece and Albania. The foundations have been laid for the so-called quadripartite regional cooperation of Austria, Italy, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. All countries taking part in these initiatives are interested in opening up permanent processes of rapprochement and cooperation in southeast Europe, in overcoming the many historical burdens, and in including this region in the general European trends.

In the dialogue with neighboring countries, certain open issues cannot be avoided and among them, in particular, the position of our minorities. This dialogue's success varies, and in some cases it has not even begun. It is to be

expected that the new democratic processes within certain countries will make it possible for this sensitive and complex problem to begin to be solved in a new way.

In recent months we have greatly increased our activity with regard to various European and other integrations. There have been a series of important meetings with representatives of the EEC, EFTA [European Free Trade Association], the Council of Europe, and the OECD. The SFRY Presidency has sent the SFRY Assembly its guidelines and proposals for the further deepening of cooperation with European and other integrations and for our future moves closer to these integrations both in content and institutionally. We have adopted the stand that we should develop our present status of observer in the Council of Europe into full membership. The transformation of our political system in the direction of political pluralism and the increasing affirmation and protection of individual human rights create the objective conditions for our inclusion in the Council of Europe within the framework of the general civilized rules which have already been adopted by the majority of European countries. As for the modality of our inclusion in the Council of Europe, activities are already underway at various levels, and my agreed appearance at the forthcoming session of the Council of Europe Assembly in Strasburg is also intended to serve this purpose.

Establishing the dinar's convertibility and our economy's stabilization, together with the already implemented and planned economic reforms, are the objective basis for our inclusion in economic European integration. With EFTA we have already reached agreement on the formation of a special fund for the development of medium-sized and small businesses in Yugoslavia, and discussion is continuing on an agreement on a free trade zone and the possibility of Yugoslavia's full inclusion in this economic grouping.

The economic and political reforms which we are now implementing are also creating the possibility of adequate compatibility of our system with the EEC's system and for inclusion in the Common Market. We expect that in our further talks we will achieve Yugoslavia's maximum move toward the EEC and we hope that with the successful implementation of our present reform undertakings the question of our membership in the EEC, or in a future European confederation, which will come about if present trends continue, will become a real possibility.

We have also raised the question of our full membership in the OECD. We expect that this question will soon be resolved.

Comrade delegates, the motive for our activities is the inclusion of our economy, our country as a whole, in the most intensive processes of world economic, cultural, and political integration with the positive effects to be expected for our economy and our social processes. We are firmly resolved that Yugoslavia should not remain on the sidelines of European and world trends, but rather that it should be equally included in them and should secure the maximum possible economic efficiency and further democratic development and full realization of all human freedoms. Thank you.

Supports Presidency on Kosovo Program

LD0902021990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2310 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 8 (TANJUG)—In its two-day debate which closed late tonight, Yugoslav parliament supported the state Presidency program for the settlement of the crisis in Kosovo, the autonomous province of the Republic of Serbia in which Albanian separatists and terrorists staged another mutiny two weeks ago.

A number of deputies held it against the state Presidency that it had not intervened timely regarding the mutiny, while they spoke in high terms of praise about the resolute moves made by the government of Premier Anti Markovic and about what is known as the Yugoslav program on Kosovo. Nonetheless, in insisting that the state should stop by every legitimate means the violence and terrorism of Albanian separatists, most delegates approved of the state Presidency's proposal that a dialogue should be started in Kosovo with all those who are in favour of Yugoslavia, reforms, and democracy.

Basic conditions, it was said, should be secured for a dialogue, and these presume peace and security for all citizens, and especially the threatened Slavic people that account for no more than 10 percent of the province's total population.

Most of the delegates from the northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia demanded that special measures, which are in effect for the past year's time, should be lifted immediately, and that a dialogue be started without any preconditions. Several delegates accused Serbia of forcibly solving the problems in its province, Kosovo.

Majority of delegates from virtually all other sections of the country, however, were categorical in assessing that what is involved is the defence of the country's integrity and that there canot be any dialogue with those "Who shoot at Yugoslavia."

Delegates from Serbia, including many ethnic Albanians, pointed out that Serbs and Montenegrins can no longer tolerate 'genocide' and that their wives and children are forced to flee from Albanian terrorists into other parts of the country. The delegates therefore asked that a legal state be secured in Kosovo, that all illegal weapons in Kosovo be listed and confiscated, and that emigrants from Albania who do not possess passports or who act against Yugoslavia be expelled.

Many delegates demanded an answer to the question why the tragedy of Kosovo has been going on for a whole decade and most often provided the answer themselves:

because the federal state is powerless since its center of decision-making is blocked by quarrelling republics.

Delegates from Serbia assessed frequently that the Kosovo crisis was fuelled and prolonged by an alliance of Albanian, Croatian and Slovenian separatists. These delegates mostly urged that Kosovo be colonized by citizens from all parts of the country.

It was pointed out in the debate that the main preconditions for resolving the Kosovo problem are a definite dealing with the separatist movement, the opening of democratic processes, and the realization of reforms.

In the name of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, Vice-President Dr Borisav Jovic said in his closing remarks that the goal of the separatist movement was and remains the toppling of Yugoslavia and that it is dangerous to dispute the means of a legal state in order to prevent this.

We accept calls for a dialogue, but not under conditions of vandalism and terrorism, Jovic said.

Jovic promised the delegates that the state Presidency would duly realize its consititutional obligations and take on full responsibility for the defence of the country.

Adopts 'Conclusions' on Situation

LD0902140390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—After the two-day assembly discussion—in which over 60 delegates of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces took part—the SFRY Assembly adopted conclusions on the situation in the country. The basis for this discussion was the report on current circumstances in the country and Yugoslavia's international relations which Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, submitted on behalf of the Presidency.

The adoption of the conclusions was carried out in two stages, against all predictions. The SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces adopted them last night, after the two-day joint session of both Chambers, and the Federal Chamber today, because it did not have the quorum last night.

Further on Conclusions

LD0902231990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly supports the SFRY Presidency's stands on the situation and problems in domestic and foreign policies and the measures and activities which the authorized state organs will take to stabilize the situation, especially in Kosovo, as well as on the most important questions in connection with the country's international position and its foreign policy. This is the first conclusion which the SFRY Assembly adopted today after the two-day joint session of both chambers.

Proceeding from the seriousness of the situation in the country, the SFRY Assembly thinks that the SFRY Assembly, the SFRY Presidency, and the Federal Executive Council [FEC], in the complete unity which the nations and nationalities and citizens of Yugoslavia expect from them, should, in a timely and efficient manner, act and pass decisions within the scope of their constitutional duties and responsibilities in order to protect the constitutional system, Yugoslavia's integrity and sovereignty, and the country's further democratic economic and social development. In this way, in keeping with the Constitution, they ensure and contribute to the stability of the social and political system and the functioning of the federation as a community of nations and nationalities on an equal footing.

The SFRY Assembly considers that the consistent and all-embracing implementation of the economic reform and measures in this sphere are a priority task and the only way of overcoming the present economic and social crisis.

The SFRY Assembly calls on all social and economic subjects to participate more energetically and more consistently in implementing the economic reform measures, as well as the ones which the SFRY Assembly will pass and which the FEC will take within the scope of its responsibilities, to ensure the continuity of positive processes toward our economy's recovery.

The SFRY Assembly considers that a radical reform of the political system aimed at its democratization is necessary for the successful and all-embracing implementation of the economic reform and overcoming the present economic and social crisis. To this end the SFRY Assembly will in the future become deeply involved in the work on amendments to the present constitution and in the adoption of the new SFRY Constitution and a number of necessary systemic laws.

The SFRY Assembly notes that the latest events in Kosovo, marked by the continuous activity of Albanian separatists and terrorists aimed at separating Kosovo from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, are a direct threat to the country's territorial integrity and constitutional system, the freedom and rights of people and citizens, and therefore hinder the implementation of economic reform in the country.

The latest events in Kosovo have spread disquiet and lack of security among all the citizens, especially Serbs and Montenegrins, which has resulted in a sudden increase in their emigration from the province. For this reason the SFRY Assembly calls on all organs of the federation, of Serbia, and especially of Kosovo to take all necessary steps to ensure their full personal and material security, thus enabling the return of those who emigrated in this period and halting the emigration of those who are preparing to emigrate from this territory as a result of the aforementioned events.

Proceeding from the present political, security, and socioeconomic situation in Kosovo, the SFRY Assembly

supports the SFRY Presidency's stands on the application of special measures, on condition that their further application should depend on the development of the political and security situation in the province.

The SFRY Assembly demands that the authorized organs—in keeping with their constitutional and legal responsibilities—should continue even more efficiently and resolutely to take all the measures available to a law-governed state to create the conditions for the normal functioning of state organs and for unhindered economic activities, as well as for a responsible attitude toward work in the province, in keeping with the implementation of the economic and social reform.

The SFRY Assembly tasks the authorized federal organs with consistent implementation of the laws on the movement and residence of foreigners vis-a-vis the emigrants, which are contrary to the SFRY's Constitution and laws.

The SFRY Assembly demands of all those responsible for the tasks arising from the Yugoslav program on Kosovo to engage in its consistent and comprehensive implementation, as well as the establishment of measures and responsibility for the incomplete and untimely implementation of the tasks with which they are charged. Activities aimed at drafting a new program for Kosovo's economic development should also be started.

The SFRY Assembly points out again the need for broad sociopolitical activities among all citizens in the Soviet Autonomous Province of Kosovo, ranging from local communities and work organizations to the province's top organs and organizations, in order to mobilize the masses, particularly members of the Albanian nationality, the majority of whom are committed to suppressing and thwarting the aggressive activities of Albanian separatists and terrorists.

In the course of this all the necessary preconditions should be created for mutual trust, dialogue, and shared life among all Kosovo's citizens and for the economic, cultural, and other integraiton and liaisons of the Albanian nationality with the other nations and nationalities in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. By such activities a united front of all the progressive forces (Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Croats, Muslims, Romanies, etc) will be created, which should be a decisive factor in the struggle against the Albanian separatists and terrorists, in the long-term stabilization of the situation in Kosovo and the participation of all progressive forces in the democratic processes.

"The SFRY Assembly underscores the need to curb the identification of Albanian nationalists and separatists with the Albanian nationality as a whole, and also the propaganda that creates resentment and mistrust of this nationality." [quotation marks as received]

The SFRY Assembly expresses its deep concern over the deterioration in relations between our republics, nations, and nationalities because this endangers our unity and threatens the country's fate. The Assembly demands that all disputes between the leaderships of the republics and provinces should be halted and that problems should be resolved through mutual cooperation and communication.

The SFRY Assembly expects the assemblies and other organs of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces to fully contribute to this in order to immediately end all activities which fuel mutual disputes. It is necessary for all organs, organizations, and the media to halt without any delay activities that spark disputes, it is said in the conclusions of the SFRY Assembly.

Federal Chamber Assesses Assembly Decision

LD1002212190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly, after a two-day joint session of both chambers, today adopted conclusions on the situation in the country and its international position. Only the delegates of the Federal Chamber, who last night did not do so because of the lack of a quorum, today expressed their views on the conclusions. One hundred and nine delegates voted for the conclusions—the same ones which last night were approved by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces—10 voted against, and 12 abstained.

Delegates in the Federal Chamber, like those in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, supported the working group's draft conclusions. The amendments which the working group did not include in the draft conclusions were today not supported by delegates in the Federal Chamber either. Among these is the proposal of Martin Mlinar that the need for dialogue with all inhabitants in Kosovo who want a peaceful resolution of the problems and life together in Kosovo and in Yugoslavia should be incorporated into the text. Virulent nationalists would not be able to participate in this dialogue, and only those who accept the logic of reason, conscious of the fact that problems cannot be resolved by force would be able to do so. In this dialogue, the cooperation of all political parties and associations should be facilitated. This amendment of Mlinar's was not accepted by the delegates because, in essence, it represents a quote from the speech by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, which was supported in the conclusions.

The delegates also did not accept the amendment of Kurtes Salihu, who requested that the word "terrorists" in the conclusions be replaced with the term "nationalists." They favored the explanation of the working group, which did not accept Salihu's proposal because the term terrorism is connected with criminal acts in Kosovo, and is already employed in documents of the SFRY Assembly, and it is well known in domestic and international law.

Salihu's proposal that the SFRY Assembly request of the competent organs that they ensure correctness in intervention, that they examine all the cases of victims in the

recent events in Kosovo, and that they inform the Assembly of possible abuses and irregularities, was not accepted either. It was assessed that the cooperation proposed by Salihu is the legal obligation of the competent organs of internal affairs and of the judiciary, something which is also defined in the Presidency's stances.

After the adoption of the conclusions, SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic assessed that during the three-day joint session of both chambers, the conscience and responsibility of delegates was severely tested.

The country is in a difficult situation generally, and the situation in Kosovo is a special problem. In a wide-ranging and exhaustive discussion, in which about 70 delegates took part, various viewpoints were voiced. There were polemics and confrontations, though we have adopted the conclusions and in this way demonstrated a great degree of unity on the fundamental questions of our policy, as well as with respect to the Kosovo situation, Gligorijevic stressed.

The result of this session and the unity we have achieved, in the words of the SFRY Assembly's president, provides hope that scope exists for positive solutions to the numerous and difficult problems which are burdening our present-day reality.

With the adoption of the conclusions, fresh possibilities and preconditions are created for the difficult and irregular situation in Kosovo to be improved so that peace and security could prevail in this part of the country as well. With these words Gligorijevic concluded the joint session of both chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly.

However, he also analyzed the situation last night when, owing to the lack of a quorum in the Federal Chamber, it was not possible to end the joint session.

Among the public this was received with astonishment and even bitterness, as a result of which a large number of protest telegrams reached the Assembly, Gligorijevic said, and he proposed that there be discussion of this question in the Federal Chamber and a report on this made public. An informal discussion on this followed in the Federal Chamber at the end of the joint session of both chambers.

Alternative Group Communique on Kosovo Events

AU0902204890 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] In addition to the increased activity of political and social organizations in Kosovo, Kosovar alternative groups have also been active, releasing various communiques. Thus, a communique released at a press conference by the Kosovo Democratic League states, among other things:

Recent events, the massive demonstrations, their demands, their causes, and their consequences are viewed and mentioned only in terms of hostile categories, as activities undertaken by the enemy, by nationalists and separatists, and are even termed as terrorism. The demonstrations are condemned as being separatist and their purpose is allegedly said to be to break away from the system. They are also said to be a blow against the integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia, as well as secessionist. The predominating demands for democracy, freedom, and equality are labeled as rebellion.

The hunt for new culprits to be made responsible for the events in Kosovo is intensifying, the communique goes on to say. Croatia, Slovenia, and their respective leaders are now being added to the list of well-known domestic and foreign enemies, not to mention the Kosovar alternative groups. The fact that Kosovo is a difficult terrain for the operation of alternative groups, which will find there a greater resistance to the democratic processes, was always known. This is because of the presence of power monopolies, repressive practices, and a lack of democratic culture on the part of the leaders of our forums. Consequently, we are not surprised by the campaign of slander and attacks against alternative associations and movements, the falsification of their programs, and the calumnies against their leaderships.

The official bodies are seeking to legitimate themselves by accusing other movements of being for a single nationality. In Kosovo there is and there can be no movement with a single-nationality orientation. The efforts of the official structures to accuse alternative movements of being for a single-nationality are in vain, and this also applies to the Democratic League of Kosovo, in particular, which has placed friendship and cooperation between the peoples and national equality high on its program, committing itself to these civilizing values. It is unacceptable to us that such an accusation comes from those who bear at least a considerable part of the responsibility for the level to which interethnic relations have sunk in Kosovo, says the communique of the Democratic League of Kosovo, among other things.

Leader Issues Statement

LD0902222190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, regarded as the largest alternative group in the province, distributed a statement today on its view of the latest events among the journalists in Pristina. As expected, the party's leader, Ibrahim Rugova, refutes the view that the demonstrations were separatist rampages aimed at destroying the system and attacking the integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Rugova stresses that "demands for democracy, freedom, and equality" prevailed.

The statement, which is three single-spaced pages long, is full of condemnations of the policy of Serbia and the province. It is, however, interesting that the statement admits that in "Kosovo there can be no single nation-oriented movement".

Rugova attempts to convince us that the existing alternative groups do not comprise only one nationality and that "the attacks on their programs [words indistinct] the nervousness of the official establishment in the wake of the alternative groups' great success."

Rugova does not specify what these "great successes" are. However, he maintains that "regarding the programs of the alternative groups as reactionary is a most crude misinterpretation."

Kosovo LC Committee Holds Meeting

LD1102162790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—The Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee, meeting today, adopted, on the basis of the debate at the last session and suggestions at this session, its assessments of and stands on the character and aims of the latest enemy demonstrations by Albanian nationalists and separatists. They are almost identical to the SFRY Assembly's conclusions, which is encouraging, and a sign, as it was said, that there are realistic possibilities for resolving the difficult Kosovo problems successfully via shared efforts.

Let us hope, said Sonja Scepanovic, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, that reason has prevailed in Yugoslavia and that these are not just written conclusions and that the state will perform its tasks in Kosovo.

There was unanimous assessment that the latest demonstrations of Albanian nationalists and separatists, characterized by numerous elements of terrorism, endangered the constitutional order, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the SFRY. A number of features bear witness, Scepanovic noted, to the fact that their essential aim was to score concrete points in the realization of the idea about the so-called greater Albania, to internationalize the demand, "Kosovo—republic," and to have the separatist rebellion turned into a national movement of Albanians in Yugoslavia. All this was carried out in the disguise of demands for democracy, political pluralism, freedom, and human rights. Nevertheless, this is, in effect, a continuation of the November, February, and March demonstrations of last year. [as received]

On this occasion the Albanian nationality, Sonja Scepanovic assessed, faced a great trial under the threat of the regressive forces homogenizing it on the nationalist and separatist platform, driving it into a collective confrontation, verging on war-like fighting, with the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. One should not doubt that the Albanian nationality will resist the dangerous game with their lives and the country they live in. It is already showing this.

In the words of the speaker, the worsening of the situation in Kosovo was largely fueled by the activities of the alternative associations and alliances on the eve of, during, and particularly in the wake of the end of the demonstrations, when their activities were stepped up, obviously aiming to homogenize, by the means of specific methods, the Albanian nationality along the demands and ideas identical to the demands of demonstrators.

The Kosovo LC will not accept dialogue with representatives of these so-called alternative alliances, associations and parties, which by their program commitments and concrete actions call for the toppling of the constitutional order, integrity, and sovereignty of the SFRY, for the secession of its territory's parts, and for bloodshed, violence, terrorism, and interethnic conflicts. The activities of the existing illegal alliances in Kosovo are, for the time being, of this kind. They foment and approve of nationalist and separatist activities, Sonja Sepanovic maintained. [passage omitted: Kosovo LC committed to political pluralism]

Answering a question on why the term terrorism was being used during those events, Sonja Scepanovic said: Let us not forget that this was a matter of an armed rebellion, of occupyuing a territory, of violence, and attempts to overthrow the legally elected organs. Apart from the use of arms and trained terrorists infiltrated from outside, terrorism also implies the activities of those who would like to achieve their political goals by threats and spreading fear. Those who do not desire terrorism should not feel threatened by the use of this word.

Scepanovic spoke in favor of distancing the protagonists of Albanian nationalists and separatists from political life and of their removal from the majority of the Albanian population, stressing that the Albanian nationality must divorce itself from the nationalists and separatists through its words and actions.

Sonja Scepanovic emphasized the Provincial Committee members' position expressed during the debate on the last demonstrations, which was that Albanian nationalists and separatists were making use of the lack of unity in the country and within the LCY, as they were also encouraged by the open support of the leadership of Slovenia and Croatia. She also replied to the remarks that in this way the importance of resolving the situation in the province is evident. It is not true, she said, that previous solutions to the situation in the province have turned out to be wrong and that one should reexamine the assesments to date of the situation in Kosovo. [passage omitted reporting that the Slovene and Croat press are waging a campaign against LCY policy in Kosovo; and on the resumption of school classes]

Muhammed Ramkuka said that the members of the Joint Militia Unit have caused a grave situation since, he claims, in Kacanik they fired at a group of workers who were on their way to work, and also overstepped their bounds in other ways. He called on the Provincial Committee to tackle this matter. Having accepted unanimously the assessments of and stands on the character

and aims of the last demonstrations, the Provincial Committee members did not accept the proposals by stating that a federal commission had already been set up to examine all the cases of abuse, if any. [passage omitted on Rahman Morina closing session]

Chief of Staff Adzic Visits Kosovo Units

LD0802205290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—The activities so far of the units of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] in Kosovo, and those which are still taking place, are fully in accordance with its constitutional role and are relevant to the situations and conditions in that part of the country. Once again it has been confirmed that the Army's presence in this region is a sure guarantee of the preservation of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and constitutional order. The struggle which has long been waged in Kosovo for Yugoslavia must be unconditionally won with the use of all the means at the disposal of the law-governed state.

The Army will, as it has done until now, carry out its task to the fullest, without any ado. There is no need for us to justify ourselves to anyone or to apologize for the use of all the state's means, including force, against those who pose a threat to the people's peace and security with their violence and widespread terror, against those who are trying to destroy the constitutional order and threaten the country's integrity.

This was stated by Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, on the occasion of his tour of the commands and units in Kosovo.

The commander of the Pristina Corps, Lieutenant Colonel General Andrija Silic, reported to the chief of the General Staff on the combat and moral-political readiness of the command and units in Kosovo and on the implementation of the tasks which have been set for them by the federal secretary for national defense.

General Adzic today toured some of the commands and units of the Pristina Corps in the garrisons of Pristina, Titova Mitrovica, Urosevac, and Gnjilane, and familiarized himself with the results of training and education and with other issues in the lives of the Army collectives in the present conditions. He commended the command of the Pristina Corps and the units in Kosovo for their successful execution of the tasks which were set for them by the SFRY Presidency and Supreme Command Headquarters. He also highly evaluated the moral and political unity and moral strength of the command and units, and he stressed once again the importance of good relations between individuals, and in particular interethnic relations in every, and even the smallest, Army collective.

Once again the great advantage had been seen in concrete terms of the multinational and all-Yugoslav composition of the Pristina Corps, and of all other YPA units. This increases their opportunities for taking initiatives to establish cooperation and joint activities of members of the Army and citizens of all nationalities living in the region, said the chief of the General Staff.

He went on to stress that Albanian nationalists and separatists had once again shown unambiguously and clearly that they are not abandoning their aims for the secession of Kosovo and its annexation to Albania. And not just Kosovo. They have recently shown in the most aggressive and organized way that they want to achieve these goals by means of crude violence while concealing their aims under the cover of democracy. We will not implore anyone to desist from the destruction of Yugoslavia. This must be prevented and eradicated by all the means at the state's disposal, said the chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces.

In their talks with the chief of the General Staff, the officers and soldiers stressed that they do not resent the labor and effort needed in the execution of their tasks and duties, but that at the same time they expect all other organs to carry out their obligations, and this has so far been lacking.

The Army will, as usual, do everything within its power to prevent Kosovo from being a powder keg and to bring back peace to every home in the province. People have had enough of fear, insecurity, and trepidation over what the next day may bring. Interethnic confidence must be reaffirmed, the functioning of the law-governed state established, and energies directed toward the implementation of reform and the resolution of the current problems of all the inhabitants of the province. We know that the struggle for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo will be long and hard. This is why we must embark on this struggle with combined forces and at once, without further delay, said General Adzic.

General Adzic stressed that the federal secretary for national defense will do everything under present conditions of full mobilization and extraordinary psychophysical efforts to create more favorable living and working conditions for the members of the Army in Kosovo. Colonel General Josip Gregoric, assistant federal secretary for national defense, and his assistants have specific tasks in this regard, General Adzic, chief of the General Staff, said.

Talks With Kosovo Leaders

LD0802205790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Within the framework of a visit to Kosovo, Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces; Colonel-General Zivota Avramovic, commander of the Third Army District; and their aides had talks in the Kosovo Presidency this evening with President of the

Presidency Hiseni Kajdomcaj; Rahman Morina, president of the League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium; and Jusuf Zejnulahu, president of the Executive Council. During the talks Gen. Adzic was briefed on the current political and security situation and the measures taken for solving the difficult situation which has been characteristic of Kosovo for a long time now.

Gen. Adzic briefed Kosovo leaders on the assessments of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense in connection with the country's current situation and the possibilities of halting the unfavorable development of the political and security situation in Kosovo. The most important thing now is to suppress—using most energetic measures—every form of violent behavior on the part of nationalist and separatist forces and ensure peaceful and safe life for all the citizens living here who are threatened by separatists and nationalists—it was stressed during the talks.

The Army's exit from the barracks, it was said, encouraged all those who carry Yugoslavia in their hearts and who offered resistance to nationalist and separatist attacks on the country's integrity and the people's safety and showed to all the enemies of this country that they will vigorously prevent the achievement of nationalist and separatist aims. These are the main conditions for the general involvement of all social factors. This is also a prerequisite for finally and resolutely overcoming the present situation and for beginning the reforms in society in this part of the country, was the conclusion at the end of the talks.

TU Council Appeals to Kosovo Workers

LD0802102590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Coatian 0949 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The trade unions must resolutely oppose anyone dragging Kosovo workers into interethnic conflicts and divisions, encouraging them to resort to violence and terrorism, feeding separatism, or interrupting economic activity.

This is the message to the working class in Kosovo contained in an appeal issued today by the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. Endorsing the measures in Kosovo taken by the state organs, the Council of Yugoslav Trade Unions calls on all workers in Kosovo, in their own interest and in the interest of the country, to immediately address themselves to normalizing production.

The trade unions warned that the trade union struggle instruments cannot be abused, or sued to establish the objectives which are at odds with the immediate and long-term interests of the workers and the country.

8 Feb Situation in Kosovo Reported

LD0902003190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1641 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, February 8 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo today adopted a programme of economic- policy measures for this year, which is based on the principal elements of the new economic system approved by the Assembly of Yugoslavia late last year, at the proposal of Federal Premier Ante Markovic's cabinet.

One of the key points of the programme, as reported, is a consistent and comprehensive implementation of the Yugoslav programme aimed at halting the migration of Serbs and Montengrins from Kosovo under pressure, at stepping up the return of those who have moved out of the province and drawing to the province people from all parts of the country who wish to live and work there.

It was set out at the session of the Kosovo provincial government today that the Kosovo economy had entered 1990 with many problems—declining production, high indebtedness, a drop in investments and the standard of living and an increase in unemployment.

Production is back to normal in most of the Kosovo firms after the latest wave of demonstrations incited by ethnic-Albanian chauvinists and separatists. Private shops, which were closed during the unrest, are now open.

Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Judicial Affairs Kambovski and Kosovo Premier Jusuf Zejnulahia met today and assessed that the actions taken by state authorities to normalize the situation in the province were legal.

They underscored the need for state organs regularly to communicate with the people and urged that individual cases of office abuse in the province be looked into as soon as possible and the public informed about them.

Respresentatives of the newly formed "Committee for the Truth About Kosovo" today set out that they would cooperate also with the so-called Political Alternative founded by ethnic Albanian intellectuals, but only on condition the "alternatives" called in their programme for the prosperity of all inhabitants in Kosovo and not just the ethnic Albanians.

The committee, whose members deny that their organization is a new political party, is predominantly made up of Serbian and Montenegrin intellectuals.

In the meantime, the "Declaration for Democracy," drawn up by the alternative groups in Kosovo, has been signed by 11,000 residents of Zagreb, capital of the republic of Croatia.

The "Declaration for Democracy" calls for the lifting of emergency measures in the province, for free elecitons and the right to all types of association of citizens.

Signatures for the "declaration" are being collected in virtually all towns in Kosovo. However, at the initiative of the youth organization of Zagreb and opposition parties in Croatia, signatures were collected in Zagreb, too, from February.

Kambovskiy Details Kosovo Casualties, Arrests

LD0902064390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—The intensity, volume, nature, and crude separatist activity that marked the latest events in Kosovo should have been halted using all the means available to a law-governed state, Federal Secretary for Justice Vladimir Kambovskiy stressed today.

At a news conference with local and foreign journalists in Pristina, Kambovski revealed the number killed and injured and the damage done to the social and private sectors during the demonstrations, which were organized by members of the Albanian nationality.

Three hundred and forty-seven participants in the demonstrations were identified. Charges were brought against 340, and criminal proceedings were instituted against 13, while 223 sentences have already been pronounced. A special commission is establishing the circumstances of the death of 26 persons during several days of riots in the province, as well as all the complaints against the transgression of power by the security organs, to establish whether there are any grounds for instituting criminal proceedings against the culprits.

4 Kosovo Albanians Treated in Ljubljana

AU1002212390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Feb 90 p 9

[TANJUG report: "Confirmation That Four Injured Albanians Are Being Treated in Ljubljana"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 February—Four injured ethnic Albanians from Kosovo have been accepted at the accident and emergency department of the university clinical center in Ljubljana.

Dr. Janez Princic, the head of this clinic, confirmed to TANJUG journalists today that this news was correct. He stressed that an issue should not be made of this because doctors should give priority to medical and human ethics. Dr. Princic added that quite a few patients from Kosovo have been treated at the clinical center in Ljubljana, as well as patients from other parts of our country and even from abroad.

Protest Meetings in Serbia Reported

AU1002161390

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 2 February on pages 2, 4, 5, and 6 carries eight reports on meetings held in Serbia and Montenegro protesting the Kosovo situation.

On page 2, BORBA carries an unattributed 150-word report entitled "Resignations Because of Hesitation" on a protest meeting of more than 5,000 people at the Leskovac main square on 31 December at about 2200 [2100 GMT]. The report says that "the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council were asked to undertake all measures envisaged by law and the Constitution until 1200, and thereby stop the Albanian nationalists and separatists who are running wild in Kosovo. If they persistently hesitate, they should tender their resignations."

On page 4, BORBA carries five more reports on meetings. In a 150-word report entitled "Three Sweet Shops Broken," Lj.K. reports on lists opened after the Titograd protest meeting in collectives in Niksic and Montenegro, of volunteers signing up to take up arms and go to Kosovo. The report adds that "after the Titograd protest meeting two days ago, windows were broken in three sweet shops in Niksic owned by ethnic Albanians." In a 50-word report from Negotin by J.J. entitled "Urgent Measures or Volunteers," it is said that such lists will be opened in the Prahovo Chemical Works, too, unless the SFRY Presidency undertakes urgent measures, workers promised at a meeting there.

In a 150-word report on page 4 entitled "The People Will Do What the State Cannot," Lj.P. reports on "some 30,000 citizens at a meeting in Krusevac," and in a 200-word report on the same page entitled "About 1,000 Volunteers Sign Up," Dj.P. reports on a protest by 20,000 people in Titovo Uzice and adds that some 1,000 workers from Titovo Uzice collectives "have at their own initiative put their names on the lists of volunteers ready to set off to help security organs in Kosovo if the SFRY Presidency fails to undertake energetic measures."

At the beginning of a 600-word report from Belgrade entitled "Brief Meeting Near the Monument" I.R. says the following: "The news conference of the leaders of the banned 'Serbian National Renewal,' which was convoked yesterday by telephone for today at 1530 at the Republic Square has turned out to be a meeting of only some 100 curious people. A news conference followed a 1-hour debate, and after 'The Proclamation to the Serbian People,' and 'The Demand to Found the Serbian National Defense Council,' had been read the militia intervened, and with many angry words dispersed 'the curious people' and arrested a majority of members of the Serbian National Renewal who were present."

At the beginning of their 300-word report from Novi Sad entitled "We Do Not Need Announcements" carried on

page 5, Z. Serences and B. Lazukic state: "A meeting of Novi Sad people and those who arrived from several places in the province was held in Novi Sad in the early afternoon yesterday. The meeting was organized by the Union of the Students of the Novi Sad University and Novi Sad sociopolitical organization under the slogan "Kosovo is Serbia, Kosovo is Yugoslavia."

On page 6, BORBA carries an unattributed report entitled "We Are Staying To Defend Our Country" on a protest meeting held in Kosovo Polje "yesterday afternoon," and attended by 3,000 people, including Miroslav Djordjevic, member of the Serbian Presidency, Dusko Celic, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia , and Radenko Krulj, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo. The conclusion adopted at the meeting is reported to have said that "there can be no mention of the Serbian and Montenegrin population moving from Kosovo even in these hardest times. In these most dramatic moments in Serbia and Yugoslavia, we shall remain to face Great Albanian nationalists and separatists, that is, terrorists. We shall defend ourselves and Yugoslavia and, if need be, give our lives for it. We call on everybody who wants to live and work in peace to come and join us."

Belgrade Protesters Chant Anti-Tito Slogans

AU0902122890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 90 p 3

[Report by a "group of BORBA journalists": "Flags Without the Five-Cornered Star"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade—Yesterday's [31 January] protest meeting "for the salvation of Kosovo and Metohija," which the illegal party of the Serbian National Revival "admitted" to organizing, will be remembered for its first flag—of one of the Yugoslav federal units—which had had one of its main symbols removed, the five-cornered star. Because there had been proposals for those who had gathered on Republic Square—about 3,000 people—to move in front of the SFRY Assembly building, where the "guests" from Kosovo were meant to be located, the "call" by a member of the nonexistent committee for organizing the gathering was adopted by "acclamation" and a delegation set off the several hundred meters to "bring back" around 1,000 people, who were holding a rally in front of the SFRY Assembly building. The group that had been on Marx and Engels Square with the Serbian flag without the star and flags with the stars cut out was greeted with frenetic applause and enthusiasm, which even the best-trained voices found difficult to cope with.

As expected, the main speeches at yesterday's protest meeting were delivered by members of the banned "Sava" society from Nova Pazova. With the usual folkloric imitations and singing for which they have become famous, members of "Sava," who were in the first rows in front of the monument to Mihail Obrenovic, also chanted slogans against Yugoslavia. Some of those who had gathered also zealously greeted the chanting of "Tito—Ceausescu." There were also chants for Milosevic, Serbia, and, of course, weapons. [passage omitted]

30 Political Prisoners in Jail in Bosnia

AU1002212190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Feb 90 p 16

[M. Lucic report: "Thirty People Behind Bars"]

[Text] Sarajevo—In the Executive Council of Bosnia-Hercegovina yesterday, Zdravko Knezevic, assistant secretary for the judiciary and administration, briefed journalists on the latest figures (up to 4 January) concerning prisoners convicted of political crimes.

Thirty people are serving sentences in the republic for having committed a political crime. Of these, 26 were sentenced for crimes against the foundations of the socialist self-managing structure of Yugoslavia, while four were convicted on charges of undermining the prestige of the SFRY.

Of the 30 prisoners, three were sentenced in regular courts in Bosnia-Hercegovina and 27 in other courts in Yugoslavia.

Knezevic stated that there was a very low, "virtually negligible," level of political crime among the total number of crimes committed in the republic.

In the assessment of the republican secretary for the judiciary and administration, there had been very few, almost negligible number of instances, where people had been wrongfully detained. Zdravko Knezevic said that 2.43 percent, or 30 people, had been wrongfully detained in 1988. The figures have not yet been collected for last year, but it is estimated that there have not been any great changes in the last few years.